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ASIA AND AFRICA IN THE MODERN WORLD

ASIA AND AFRICA IN THE MODERN WORLD

Basic Information Concerning Independent
Countries

Edited by
S. L. POPLAI



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FOREWORD

THE ASIAN RELATIONS ORGANIZATION was established in 1947 'to foster friendly relations and co-operation among the peoples of Asia and between them and the rest of the world'. It holds consultative status as a non-governmental organization with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. It has co-operated with the Indian Council of World Affairs in promoting Asian studies.

It was felt that it would be useful to prepare a handbook of information and related documents for the coming Asian-African Conference, scheduled to meet in April in Indonesia. This Conference is meeting in response to a persistent and widespread desire among the peoples of Asia and Africa to play their proper role in resolving world tensions and promoting international amity. This handbook is being published to enable the general public in India and elsewhere to take an informed interest in the affairs of the Conference.

The Asian Relations Organization is grateful to the following institutions whose members have generously contributed their specialized knowledge and time to the preparation of this handbook:

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New Delhi,

15th February, 1955

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GENESIS OF THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

1. *Asia, Africa and the World*

THE ASIAN - AFRICAN conference is only one landmark in the history of international co-operation between the countries of the two continents. The factors favouring such co-operation are deep-rooted in history. Even before the majority of the Asian countries became free and entered the international scene as independent entities, there was evidence of some affinity of sentiment among the political leaders of the two continents. As early as August 1926, the Asian delegation to the non-official International Conference for Peace held at Bierville declared in a memorandum:

There is one thing which cannot fail to strike anyone who studies the peace movements of Europe. It is the fact—which even your deliberations to-day have emphasized—that when European people think of peace they think of it only in terms of Europe. In the imagination of European thinkers the world seems to be confined to the areas inhabited by European races. The vast continent of Asia, containing as it does some of the most ancient civilizations, and holding the vast majority of the human population, and Africa, with its particular problems, do not come into the picture at all. This, we submit with all humility, is a wrong point of view. If the world is to have permanent peace it must not be a local peace, a peace affecting only a few nations, but extending its beneficent reign over the whole of mankind.... If you wish for peace, your first work should be to eliminate the causes which make Asia hostile

towards Europe, and to dissolve this vast accumulation of hatred. Establish a brotherhood of co-operation between Asia and Europe, and you would have taken the biggest step towards peace. What is it that stands in the way of such a co-operation? It is the union of European Powers for the exploitation of Asia and for the subordination of new peoples. European nations have indeed their rivalries against each other in Asia, but as against Asiatics they are one... In Asia it is not the Englishman or the Frenchman, or the Dutchman, but the European as against the Asiatic that exists.

This memorandum reveals how on the question of peace the Asian spokesmen took a stand which was different from that of European Governments.

Few countries in Asia and Africa were free in the pre-war period. Even in countries like China, Iran, Nepal and Siam, which were apparently independent, foreign Powers exercised considerable economic or political influence. The external sovereignty of a country like Egypt was subjected to restrictions in such important matters as defence. It was in the context of this situation that the movement for freedom from foreign domination began to take concrete shape in Asia and Africa. The tempo and the nature of the several national movements of this region were not similar: but they had the common aim of freeing their countries from the colonial domination of Western Powers. Partly, these movements were also a protest against the policy of racial discrimination followed by the Europeans against the coloured peoples. Political demands of the colonial peoples implied a radical revision of the *status quo* in the international field, as far as it related to the status of their countries and the maltreatment of their peoples. The driving motive behind the action of the Western Powers was to preserve the *status quo* as far as it benefited their economic, political and strategic interests in Asia, Africa and elsewhere.

2. World War II Shakes the Established Order

The outbreak of World War II, in 1939, was a challenge

to the then existing international relations including the colonial preserves of the Western Powers. The threat to the domination of Asia and Africa by the older European Powers, came not from the claimants for freedom in these continents but from the Fascist powers of Europe and the Japanese militarists. To the Europeans the war was ultimately a struggle for the defence of their freedom. But to many peoples in Asia and Africa it was not an ideological struggle at all but only a 'European civil war' in which Japan and America also had taken sides. In Asia and Africa there was no widespread enthusiasm and sympathy for the cause of the Western allies. A few influential national leaders of South-east Asia even allied themselves with Japan. During the war years there were clear manifestations of intense nationalism directed against Western domination in all the Asian countries.

3. Movement towards Freedom and Unity after the War

With the termination of war, the political situation in Asia changed rapidly. In the Middle East freedom was achieved by many countries and there was a movement towards unity. The Covenant of the Arab League was signed in March 1945.¹ The purpose of the League was defined as:

To strengthen the ties between the participant States, to coordinate their political programmes in such a way as to effect real collaboration between them, to preserve their independence and sovereignty, and to consider, in general, the affairs and interests of the Arab countries.

Very important developments took place in South and South-east Asia also. Burma, Ceylon, India, Pakistan and the Philippines emerged as new states. The entry of these Asian States in the international field hastened the approaching end of colonialism in Asia and Africa.

But the internal situation in these countries was still fluid and the problems which the newly independent countries had to face were very complex. There were, however, signs

1. See Appendix I.

of co-operation among these countries. The first non-official Asian Conference² met at New Delhi in March 1947. The Conference was convened by the Indian Council of World Affairs—a non-official and non-political body—with the main object of exchanging ideas regarding the common problems which all Asian countries had to face in the post-war era and to study them in Round Table groups on the basis of papers prepared in advance by those who had made a special study of them. This Asian Relations Conference was symbolic of the rapid changes that were taking place in Asia at that time. Although it was a non-official and academic Conference the views expressed in it became politically significant. The widespread resentment against the domination by Western nations was evident in most of the speeches made in its sessions. Some of the delegates even demanded that, if necessary, armed assistance should be given by independent governments to some of the national movements in the dependent countries of this region. Another delegate proposed a resolution stating that no Asian country should permit discrimination on grounds of race. These views received widespread support. Some economic questions were also discussed. The popular opinion was that the Asian countries should welcome foreign economic help; but many delegates suspected that economic domination might follow such aid. Some of them expressed the fear that the retreating political imperialism might be replaced by the 'Dollar Imperialism'. Before the Conference concluded its deliberations, it decided to set up an Asian Relations Organization³ to promote friendly relations and cultural cooperation among the peoples of Asia. National Councils of this organization were set up in Burma, Ceylon, India and Malaya.

The significance of this Asian Relations Conference was that it was the first outward expression of the new awakening in Asia and of the need which all the Asian countries felt of coming closer to one another in the changed political

2. The participants were: Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Burma, Cambodia, Cochin-China, Laos, Ceylon, China, Egypt, Georgia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Korea, Malaya, Mongolia, Nepal, Hebrew University, Palestine, Philippines, Siam, Tadjikistan, Tibet, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Viet Nam.

3. See Appendix II.

atmosphere of the post-war world. That Conference gave the impression that whenever any colonial power would attempt to re-establish its power in an Asian country it would have to contend not only with the freedom movement of the country concerned, but with a hostile public opinion of the whole of Asia, which was awake to the community of interests of all countries within this great continent and the democratic aspirations of all its people.

When the Dutch took 'police action' against the infant Republic of Indonesia and tried to destroy it by force, strong protests were voiced against the Dutch action in all the Asian countries. In January 1949, the representatives of fifteen Governments met in New Delhi to consider the fast-deteriorating situation in Indonesia. The quick decision reached at the Conference was an indication of the fundamental agreement of all these states on this issue. One of the delegates was right in saying that, 'We are not here to-day to decide whether or not a wrong has been done. We are met here as those who are convinced that a wrong has been done...' The Chairman of the Conference gave expression to the views of other delegates when he said: 'One thing is certain: there can be and will be no surrender to aggression and no acceptance of reimposition of colonial rule.' The resolution⁴ adopted by the Conference declared that in the opinion of the States represented there the Dutch military action against the Indonesian Republic 'constitutes a flagrant breach of the U.N. Charter and defiance of the efforts of the Security Council and its Good Offices Committee to bring about a peaceful settlement'. The resolution recommended to the U.N. Security Council to take the necessary action to bring about the following: (1) The Indonesian Republican leaders and other political prisoners should be immediately released; (2) the Republican Government should be allowed to function freely, for which purpose the Dutch authorities should immediately hand back the residency of Jogjakarta to Republican control and, not later than 15 March 1949, return all areas in Java, Sumatra and Madura held by the Republic on 18 December 1948; (3) and by 1 January 1950, power over

4. For other resolutions see Appendix III.

the whole of Indonesia should be completely transferred to the United States of Indonesia, whose relationship with the Netherlands should be settled by mutual negotiation.

4. *Asian-African Group in the U.N.*

The Delhi Conference on Indonesia was only the beginning of Asian-African co-operation on a governmental level. Most of these states are members of the United Nations. Since 1949, on many important issues, these countries began to consult each other and act together in international conferences. The emergence within the U.N. General Assembly of an Asian-African group attracted much attention in international circles and very often this group was in a position to exercise considerable influence in the decisions reached. The twelve states which were at first collectively referred to as the 'Arab-Asian Group' were Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen. This was not any rigidly organized and integrated group whose members took an identical stand on all important matters. But it can be said that most of the Governments represented therein tried to follow a foreign policy independent of the major Power-blocs. They also tried to take steps to mitigate the existing division of the world into two camps. But the basis of their unity lay elsewhere; it was in their vigorous opposition to the Western domination over Asia and Africa. On matters concerning this question the Philippines and Thailand also voted with them and, more or less, became members of the Arab-Asian Group. Later, with the addition of Ethiopia and Liberia this group was enlarged and the new name, the 'Asian-African Group', gradually replaced the former name, the 'Arab-Asian Group'.

Although the majority of the members of the group are from Asia—few of the countries of Africa being independent and members of the United Nations—most of the issues with which they were concerned as a group were connected with the territories and peoples of Africa. The Asian-African Powers took a keen interest in the U.N.'s work in the Trust

territories and in getting precise information on non-self-governing territories. They were also continuously condemning racial discrimination in South Africa and pointing out that not only was it a denial of fundamental human rights but that it also constituted a threat to world peace. In more than one session of the U.N. General Assembly, they defended the right of self-determination for the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco. They were also opposed to the re-establishment of the authority of the Western Powers in the former Italian colonies. Most of these issues were primarily concerned with specific contemporary events in Africa, although all of them raised issues of a universal character.

Colonial and racial questions were not the only ones to attract the attention of this group. After the crossing of the 38th parallel in Korea by the United Nations forces under General MacArthur, the Chinese Government declared that this step constituted a threat to their own freedom and 'Chinese Volunteers' crossed over into North Korea in large number and began to attack the U.N. forces. It was feared that this critical development in the Far East might lead to a major world war. At that time the Arab-Asian States took the initiative in exploring ways and means of finding a peaceful solution. On 5 December 1950, Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen published an appeal to the advancing North Korean and Chinese forces to declare that they would refrain from crossing the 38th parallel and thus allow time for deliberations on the larger problems of the Far East. A week later the same group sponsored a joint resolution in the General Assembly requesting the President of the Assembly to constitute a group of three persons, including himself, to determine the basis on which a satisfactory cease-fire in Korea could be arranged and to make recommendations to the Assembly as soon as possible. Another occasion that showed a similar common concern was when most of the group supported the Indian resolution on the Korean Prisoners of War submitted to the General Assembly in 1952. This resolution was drafted by India after exhaustive consultations with the Arab-Asian delegations and other interested parties. The influence exercised

by the principles embodied in this resolution on the final settlement of the dispute on the exchange of prisoners of the Korean War shows the great part played by the Asian-African powers even on questions of peace and war.

5. *Co-operation outside the U.N.*

The proposed Asian-African conference will be the first full-fledged Asian-African Conference in which almost all the independent states of the two continents are expected to be represented. There have been, however, a few other occasions, too, when the representatives of some Asian governments have met to discuss matters which were of common interest to them. One was the Conference held at Baguio,⁵ in the Philippines, in May 1950. The Conference was not convened to discuss any specific question demanding immediate attention and the resolutions finally accepted by it were also of a general nature. Some of its recommendations were to 'act in consultation with each other through normal diplomatic channels to further the interests of the peoples of this region' and to 'ensure that in the consideration of the special problems of South and South-east Asia the point of view of the peoples of this area is prominently kept in mind, by any conference dealing with such problems, so that better understanding and cordial relations may subsist between the countries in the region and other countries of the world.'

Another was the Conference of the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan which met at Colombo in April-May 1954. This was a more concrete step in the direction of increasing co-operation among the Asian countries. This Conference discussed several specific and urgent issues,⁶ e.g. the war in Indo-China. The 'Colombo Powers' were conscious that they were meeting at a time when problems vital to the stability and peace of the East and South-east Asia were being considered at the Geneva Conference. They expressed the view that 'France should declare at the Geneva Conference that she is irrevocably

5. See Appendix IV.

6. See Appendix V.

committed to the complete independence of Indo-China'. They also declared that the representation of the People's Republic of China in the U.N. would help to promote stability in Asia, ease world tensions and assist in bringing about a more realistic approach to the problems concerning the world, particularly in the Far East. They stated further that the continuance of Colonialism was a violation of fundamental human rights and a threat to the peace of the world. On the specific questions of Tunisia and Morocco, their view was that the national sovereignties of these countries and the legitimate demands of their peoples for independence should be recognised and that they should be enabled to exercise the right to self-determination. The Prime Ministers also expressed their determination to resist interference in the affairs of their countries by external agencies, whether Communist or anti-Communist. They issued a joint appeal to the major powers to desist from further experimental atomic explosions. The Conference, finally, discussed the desirability of holding a conference of all African and Asian nations. The Indonesian Prime Minister was requested to explore the possibility of holding such a Conference.

The next Conference of the Colombo Powers took place in Bogor in Indonesia towards the end of December 1954. This meeting discussed the general purposes and membership of the proposed Asian-African Conference.⁷ Two of the purposes of the Conference were described as follows: (1) to consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples, for example, problems affecting national sovereignty, racialism and colonialism, and (2) to view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

As regards the membership of the proposed Conference, it was decided to invite the foreign ministers of all such independent states in Asia and Africa as were in sympathy with the declared purposes of the Conference. The omission to invite the South African, Korean, Formosan and Israeli governments is easily explained by the pronounced antipathies

7. See Appendix VIII.

that exist between these governments and a large number of the governments invited.

The summoning of the Asian-African Conference is the latest and the most significant step in the growing co-operation between the Asian and African peoples that has characterized the post-war era. Like the earlier, similar attempts, this step is not taken in a spirit of hostility to any nation or group of nations or to build up any anti-White, pan-Asian bloc. The inspiration behind the Conference is the widespread desire among the Asian and African peoples to exercise their proper influence in resolving international tensions and to explore avenues of fruitful co-operation among nations.

AFRICA

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

(The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland)

1. General

THE FEDERATION is situated in South Central Africa. On the South it is bounded by the Union of South Africa, on the West by the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Portuguese West Africa, on the North-West and North by the Belgian Congo, on the North by Tanganyika and on the East by Portuguese East Africa. There is no sea-coast. The area of the whole country is 486,973 square miles and the population 6,949,800, of whom 6,710,000 are Africans.

The Federation is made up of three territories as follows:

(i) *The Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia*

Area (Sq. miles)		Population
287,640	African	1,980,000
	European	50,000
	Asian	3,500
	Mixed	1,300
	Total	2,034,800

(ii) *Southern Rhodesia*

150,333	African	2,130,000
	European	160,000
	Mixed	6,700
	Asian	4,700
	Total	2,301,400

(iii) *The Protectorate of Nyasaland*

49,000	African	2,600,000
	Asian	6,000
	European	5,000
	Mixed	2,000
	Total	2,613,000

The provisional Federal Capital is Salisbury, which is also the capital of Southern Rhodesia and has a population of nearly 170,000. Lusaka, the capital of Northern Rhodesia, has a population of 50,000 and Zomba, the capital of Nyasaland, has a population of 6,000.

The whole Federation lies within the tropical belt but as most of the country is between 3,000 and 5,000 feet above sea level, the climate is sub-tropical and attractive to European settlers. The main rainfall, which is in the vicinity of 25 to 30 inches a year, falls between November and March. The main rivers are the Zambezi, Shiré, Lunsumfwa, Mlilungushi, Kafué, Umfulé, Hunyani and Sabi. On the borders of the Federation are the great lakes of Nyasa and Tanganyika. In Nyasaland there are hills rising to 10,000 feet.

2. *History*

At Zimbabwe, in Southern Rhodesia, are ruins of ancient buildings which are certainly well over 1,000 years old, perhaps very much more, but archaeologists are still ignorant of the mysterious people that built them. Indeed little is known of Central Africa's early history. South Central Africa was the scene of mass movements of peoples between the 16th and 19th centuries. From Equatorial regions came successive waves of the Bantus. Some, like the Zulus, pushed further South, while others remained. Later off-shoots of the Zulu race—the Matabele, the Lozo and the Angoni, returned to Central Africa and settled down there. Until the arrival of the Europeans the Africans relied on a subsistence economy

based on cattle herding and a shifting system of agriculture.

The missionary work and explorations of David Livingstone, the reports of gold in what is now Southern Rhodesia, and the ambitions of Cecil Rhodes induced the British to extend their rule over Central Africa.

Between 1889 and 1893 the whole of Rhodesia and Nyasaland came under the British flag, Rhodesia being ruled by the British South Africa Company, and Nyasaland being ruled as a British Protectorate. Northern Rhodesia, though ruled by the Company was also a British Protectorate. In 1923 Southern Rhodesia was relinquished by the Company and was formally annexed by the Crown. At the same time, responsible government was granted to the European settlers. Foreign Affairs continued to be controlled by the United Kingdom. In 1923, the Crown also took over the responsibility for the government of Northern Rhodesia. In 1953, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland came into existence by an Act of the United Kingdom Parliament. Sir Godfrey Huggins, formerly Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, is the first Prime Minister of the new Federation.

3. *Constitutional Framework*

Head of the State : H.M. Queen Elizabeth II of the
United Kingdom

Governor General : Lord Llewellyn

Prime Minister : The Rt. Hon. Sir Godfrey
Huggins

The 1953 Constitution became law by an Act of the United Kingdom Parliament after being approved in a referendum by a majority of the European community in Southern Rhodesia. There was no referendum of the non-European races.

The Constitution provides for

a) 26 elected members:

14 from Southern Rhodesia	(population 2,301,400)
8 from Northern Rhodesia	(„ 2,034,800)
4 from Nyasaland	(„ 2,613,000)

The voters, who elect the above 26 members, include all adult European citizens, a few hundred Africans (from Southern Rhodesia), and such Asians as qualify under the electoral regulations.

- b) 6 specially elected African members—2 from each territory.
- c) 3 European members from African interests—1 from each territory.

The two specially elected African members and the European member (also specially elected) from Southern Rhodesia, are elected by a predominantly European electorate, in accordance with regulations made by the Governor of Southern Rhodesia. The specially elected African members from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are elected in each case by such a body as their respective Governors may designate as being a body representative of Africans. The two European members for African interests from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are appointed by their respective Governors.

There is thus provision for a minimum of 6 African members in the Assembly. There is no specific provision for Asian membership.

There is a special Standing Committee of the Federal Assembly to watch African interests.

Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom reserve the power to check Federal Legislation that differentiates against the interest of one race.

Federal Government powers include: external affairs, defence, immigration, finance, inter-territorial communications.

Southern Rhodesia is a self-governing colony and has no connexion with the Colonial Office. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are still Protectorates under the control of the Colonial Office, although in both territories the territorial government, in which there is a considerable non-official element, is in fact, the policy making instrument.

4. *Foreign Relations since 1945*

Since the Federation is still subject to the United Kingdom in the matter of external affairs, it has no diplomatic representation outside the Commonwealth. High Commissions are, however, maintained in the United Kingdom and the Union of South Africa, while both these countries maintain High Commissions in the Federation. The Indian Commissioner in East Africa also has jurisdiction in the Federation.

5. *Economic Resources and Foreign Trade*

The following are the foreign trade returns for 1948 and 1952 by territories:

	<i>Imports</i>		<i>Exports</i>	
	1948	1952	1948	1952
S. Rhodesia	£42,615,000	£88,475,000	£29,189,000	£61,237,000
N. Rhodesia	15,800,000	42,800,000	28,600,000	82,600,000
Nyasaland	4,340,000	8,750,000	4,210,000	6,300,000

The 1952 figures of the national income of the three territories are: Southern Rhodesia £ 118,000,000, Northern Rhodesia £ 62,000,000, and Nyasaland £ 16,000,000.

The Federation's most valuable economic resources are its minerals. In 1952 copper production was valued at £ 75,000,000, asbestos at £ 6,650,000 and gold at £ 6,500,000. Other important minerals are zinc, cobalt, lead, coal and chrome ore.

The chief cash crops are tobacco (£ 20,000,000) cotton, tung, wattle, tea and timber.

There is increasing industrial development, especially in Southern Rhodesia, with the manufacture of tobacco, cotton, textile and metal products.

The principal exports are: tobacco, asbestos, chrome, copper, gold, zinc, lead, tea. The principal imports are: textiles, machinery, motor vehicles, metal manufactures, food-stuffs, petrol, agricultural equipment. Trade is mainly with the United Kingdom, but considerable business is also done with South Africa and the U.S.A.

EGYPT

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

EGYPT is situated at the North-Eastern corner of the African continent and is flanked on the North by the Mediterranean and on the East by the Red Sea. Joining these seas, the Suez Canal separates the North-Eastern tip of Gaza, in Asia, from Egypt's main land mass. On the South she is bounded by the Sudan and on the West by Libya. Its area is 386,000 square miles. Her cultivated lands lie along the River Nile, reaching out into the desert only 8 miles on either side. Only in Lower Egypt (the Nile Delta) does extensive irrigation make it possible to lay out larger green fields. The rest is a vast desert. The inhabitants are mainly the descendants of the ancient Egyptians and the Nubians and have preserved to this day many of their original physiognomic features. The population is estimated at 20,729,000.

Egypt has a long history of about 5,000 years behind her. In the three thousand years before the advent of the Christian era, she saw the rise and fall of numerous Pharaonic dynasties. Her conquest by Alexander in 332 B.C. was followed by the reign of the Ptolemic kings till their final supersession by the Romans in 30 B.C. which lasted (later Egypt became a part of the East Roman or the Byzantine Empire) till 640 A.D. In that year she was conquered by the Arabs and in 1517 she fell under the Ottoman Turks. The Turkish control, though weakened by the local governor, Mohammed Ali, during the first half of the 19th century and later by the British Occupation (1882), formally lasted till 1914.

Mohammed Ali is commonly regarded as the founder of modern Egypt. During his long rule (1801-49) he

laboured hard to modernize her administrative and economic system. His successors failed to continue this development. But under the first British Agent and Consul-General, Lord Cromer, further development was resumed.

Although the immediate pretext for British Occupation was provided by Egypt's financial bankruptcy, which had assumed grave dimensions during the seventies of the last century, the main focus of British interest lay in the strategic position of Egypt with reference to India and Australia, specially enhanced since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. British occupation of Egypt lasted until 1922. A widespread national movement for the achievement of freedom confronted the British Government in 1922 and demanded Egyptian independence subject to specific safeguards for the British and other foreign interests. The dominating nationalist figure was Saad Zaghlul who was elected the leader of *Wafd el-Misri* in November 1918. In April 1923, a new Constitution was promulgated under which Egypt became a Constitutional monarchy through the King still enjoyed substantial powers. Subsequently, the Egyptian nationalists carried on their struggle both against the encroachment of the King on the Parliamentary preserves as well as against the presence of British forces in Egypt and the British interference in political and economic matters. Increasing demand for political power by the Nationalists and mounting threats to Egypt's security by the Italian Fascists, who had already occupied Ethiopia in 1935, led to the conclusion of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. Under the terms of this treaty, Great Britain agreed to evacuate her armed forces from Egypt, except from the Suez Canal Zone where they were to continue to station troops for a further period of twenty years. On 26 May 1937, Egypt became a member of the League of Nations. During the last war, however, British troops again occupied the rest of the country and the British Ambassador to Cairo came to enjoy the same wide powers wielded by the High Commissioners during the pre-Treaty period.

With the end of the war, demands for the revision of the Treaty and the evacuation of British troops from the Canal Zone were strongly pressed by almost all political parties.

Negotiations between the British and Egyptian representatives were started and discontinued several times during the last decade. An agreement was reached only in July 1954. This provides for the gradual evacuation of the Suez Canal by the British and their handing over of the military base within a short time. Britain, however, has reserved the right to re-occupy the Suez Zone in face of any threat developing to the security of Egypt or to some neighbouring countries in West Asia.

2. *Constitutional Framework*

Till 1953, the constitution of 1923 regulated the system of monarchic government. In July 1952, a military *coup d'état* effected by General Naguib and Col. Abdul Nasser, forced King Farouk to abdicate. Later it was followed by the dissolution of Parliament and the disbandment of all political parties, including the Wafd and the Muslim Brotherhood. In July 1953 the 1923 Constitution was scrapped and Egypt became a republic; General Naguib became the President and Col. Nasser the Prime Minister. Since its capture of power, the military Revolutionary Council has concentrated on fighting corruption in the administration at home and putting pressure on the British for a solution of the question of the Suez Canal Base and the independence of the Sudan. Last year, after a short tussle, Col. Nasser replaced General Naguib as President.

3. *Foreign Relations*

On the international stage, Egypt played a leading role in the establishment of the Arab League of which she has been the leading member. The Arab League, consisting of seven founder-members—Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Yemen and Egypt—was established on 22 March 1945. According to the Covenant of the League, its object is 'to strengthen the ties between the participating States, to coordinate their political programmes in such a way as to effect real collaboration between them, to preserve their in-

dependence and sovereignty, and to consider, in general, the affairs and interests of the Arab countries'. It also stipulates cooperation in economic, commercial and cultural matters. The organs of the League consist of a Council and a Secretariat headed by the Secretary-General. Cairo is the permanent seat of the Arab League.

In the Palestine dispute, Egypt actively supported the Arabs in their struggle against the partition of that country but disliked King Abdullah's move of annexing the Arab sector of Palestine to Transjordan. She has also been an advocate of collective security for the Arab world based on mutual cooperation among the Arab States and has consistently backed the Inter-Arab Joint Defence Alliance Pact of 13 April 1950, as against numerous moves by the Western Powers to organize a Middle East Defence Organisation on the pattern of NATO or SEADO. In the United Nations and outside, Egypt has kept out of the U.S.A.-U.S.S.R. conflict and was a leading member of the Arab-Asian group. She has reacted strongly to the Iraq-Turkish Pact.

4. *Economic Resources*

Egypt is predominantly an agricultural country. Cotton is the principal cash crop and accounts for about 75 per cent of the nation's exports. Not less than 70 per cent of the population lives on agriculture. As the area of the cultivated land forms less than one-fortieth of the total, Egypt suffers from a heavy pressure of population on land. The irrigation system has been considerably developed in modern times by building an elaborate network of dams, canals and pumps. With the fast growing population of Egypt, however, her main economic problem is to provide adequate means of subsistence to the people. The present military regime has, no doubt, introduced land reforms and provided some relief to the population but the development and expansion of industries has been slow. A number of modern industries have come into existence in the last thirty-five years. The *Banque Misr*, founded in 1920, and the tariff laws of 1930 have played a very useful role in this respect. The main local industries include sugar, tanning, cement, furniture, alcohol, vegetable

oils and textiles. Oil 'pockets' have also been discovered on the Red Sea coast and the present annual output is in the neighbourhood of 2.37 million tons. But potential reserves are believed to be small. A Production Council set up by the present regime on 3 January 1953, has been assigned the task of accelerating the process of industrialization in a planned way.

The principal countries with which Egypt trades are Great Britain, the United States, India, France, Australia and the West Asian countries. In 1952, her total exports and imports were valued at 417 and 608 million U.S. dollars respectively.

TABLE I
Main Agricultural Crops
(000 acres and 000 metric tons)

	1950		1952	
	<i>Area</i>	<i>Produce</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Produce</i>
Cotton	2,049	382	2,042	423
Maize	1,507	1,306	1,525	1,467
Wheat	1,423	1,018	1,455	1,109
Bersim	2,266	35,277	2,202	34,768
Rice	727	1,242	507	620
Millet	408	426	331	232

TABLE II
Main Items of Foreign Trade
(£. E. million)

<i>Imports</i>	1951	1952	<i>Exports</i>	1951	1952
Wheat	34.0	32.6	Cotton (raw)	164.1	126.4
Petroleum Products	13.0	14.9	„ (yarn)	6.9	3.5
Fertilizers	12.3	13.6	Rice	14.3	9.8
Timber	10.1	5.3	Onions	1.3	2.3
Commercial Gold	10.0	4.7			
Iron & Steel					
Products	9.8	9.4			
Vehicles	8.0	6.0			
<i>Total Imports</i>	<i>242.0</i>	<i>216.5</i>	<i>Total Exports</i>	<i>203.5</i>	<i>145.2</i>

(*The Middle East:* Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1954.)

ETHIOPIA AND ERITREA

1. General

THE FEDERAL EMPIRE of Ethiopia and Eritrea is situated in North-East Africa. It is bounded on the North-East by the Red Sea and by British and French Somaliland, on the West by the Sudan, on the South by Kenya and on the South-East by Somalia. The area is estimated at 398,350 square miles and the population at 16,000,000. The two states of the Federation are as follows:

	<i>Area</i>	<i>Population</i>
Ethiopia	350,000 sq. miles	15,000,000
Eritrea	48,350 „	1,000,000

The capital of the Empire is Addis Ababa (population 250,000). Asmara (123,000) is the capital of Eritrea. The chief port is Massawa in Eritrea. The chief races are the Amharas, Gallas, Guraghi, Danakil, and Somalis. The population is divided between the (Coptic) Christian and Muslim faiths. The Empire is mainly mountainous, with peaks rising up to 14,000 feet. It lies entirely within the tropics. The coasts and low-lying country are very hot. The high plateaux are well-watered and with a pleasant, equable climate. The winter—October to May—is dry, while from June to September it is hot. The Blue Nile, the main river, rises from Lake Tsana.

2. History

Ethiopia is a very ancient African empire with a history dating back at least to the 11th century B.C. Ethiopia has

a long connexion with Egypt, the Greeks and the Jews, and the Emperors claim descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Christianity was probably planted in Ethiopia in the 3rd or 4th century A.D. The present Empire grew out of a combination of smaller Kingdoms such as Tigre, Gojjam, Gondar and Shoa. In 1896 an attempted Italian invasion was decisively defeated at the battle of Adowa, after which Ethiopia maintained her independence until her conquest after a second attack by Italy in 1936.

In the second World War campaigns of 1940-1, both Ethiopia and the neighbouring territory of Eritrea were liberated by British and Indian forces. The Emperor returned to Ethiopia and, in 1925, following a referendum, Eritrea joined Ethiopia to form a federal empire of which Eritrea is an autonomous unit.

3. *Constitutional Framework*

Head of the State: H.I.M. the Emperor Haile Selassie I
Prime Minister: Bitwoded Makonnen Endalkatchew

The Empire is governed by a Council of Ministers and a Parliament consisting of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies.

Eritrea is governed by a Chief Executive who is elected by a single-chamber Assembly. This Assembly is elected by adult suffrage. The Federal Government is responsible for defence, currency, foreign affairs, finance, foreign trade and communications. The Eritrean Government has jurisdiction in other matters.

Chief Executive of Eritrea: Ato Tedla Bairu

4 *Foreign Relations since 1945*

The Empire maintains diplomatic missions in a number of overseas countries, including Egypt, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Syria.

Ethiopia is a member of the United Nations.

5. *Economic Resources and Foreign Trade*

The following are the foreign trade returns for 1947-8 and 1951-2:

	1947-8 ¹	1951-2 ²
Imports	£11,212,040	£15,973,786
Exports	8,017,299	16,295,380

The principal exports are coffee, hides and skins, grains, spices and oilseeds. The principal imports are salt, cotton piece-goods, petrol, motor vehicles, sugar and glass. The chief trading partners are the United Kingdom, France, U.S.A., India and Japan.

Ethiopian agriculture is largely pastoral, but a quantity of coffee is produced for export. The mineral resources, largely undeveloped, include iron, mica, gold, platinum, coal and copper. Industries are beginning to develop. In 1951-2 the national revenue was: \$(Eth.) 103,000,000. Expenditure was: \$(Eth.) 62,100,000.³

1. Excluding Eritrea

2. Including Eritrea

3. £ 1 = \$ Ethiopian 7.00

THE GOLD COAST

1. General

THE GOLD COAST is situated on the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa. It is bounded on the West by the French Ivory Coast, on the North by the French Sudan, on the East by the French Trust Territory of Togoland and on the South by the sea. The area of the whole country is 91,843 square miles and the population is 4,478,000 (1953 estimate). There are four political divisions in the country which are as follows:

	Area sq. miles	Population
The Gold Coast Colony ..	23,937	2,217,415
Ashanti ..	24,379	817,782
The Northern Territories ..	30,486	1,076,482
The U.K. Trust Territory of Togoland	13,041	382,717

The capital is Accra, a city of about 150,000 people. Other main centres are Kumasi (80,000), Sekondi-Takoradi (45,000), Cape Coast (25,000), Tamale (16,000). The three main races inhabiting the Gold Coast are the Asante, the Ewe and the Fanti. The main religious groupings are Christians, Muslims and pagans.

The 334-mile long coastline is mostly low, sandy shore, with an immediate hinterland of plains and scrub intersected by rivers and streams. A belt of tropical rain forest extends

northwards from the coast near the Western frontier for 170 miles broken by heavily wooded hills and many rivers and streams. This area produces most of the cocoa, timber and minerals. North of this belt is undulating country of between 300 and 1,300 feet above sea level, covered by Orchard bush and stretches of treeless plains. A range of hills along the Eastern border rises to 2,900 feet.

The main rivers are the Volta, Tano and Ankobra.

The climate is Equatorial—hot and dry in the North and warm and humid in most of the rest of the country.

2. *History*

While there are traces of an ancient stone-age culture in the Gold Coast, it is believed that most of the present inhabitants arrived during the past seven centuries, bringing with them a metal culture. The Gold Coast has links with an early West African Kingdom called Ghana and there is a movement to-day to give the country this ancient name. There are very few records of the country's early history before the connexion with Europe began in 1471 with the Portuguese, who found gold and gave the country its name. During the next four centuries many European nations, including the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the Swedish and Danish established trading posts on the Coast which, in common with the rest of the Guinea Coast, suffered from the terrible depredations of the slave traders.

In 1821, the British Government formally assumed control of the British settlements and in 1871, with the cession of the Dutch settlements, the whole Gold Coast passed into British hands. In 1874, the Gold Coast Colony was created. In 1901, the territories to the North of the Colony were declared British Protectorates and in 1922, with the addition of the mandated territory of Western Togoland (formerly part of German Togoland), the Gold Coast reached its present proportions. Western Togoland is now a U.K. Trust Territory, while Eastern Togoland is a French Trust Territory.

In 1952, following constitutional reforms, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah became the first Prime Minister.

3. *Constitutional Framework*

Head of the State: H.M. Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom

Governor: Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke

Prime Minister: The Hon. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

In 1952, responsible government was introduced into the Gold Coast and the newly elected government, headed by Dr. Nkrumah, began working on a new constitution which was approved in 1954.

The new Constitution provides for:

1. a Cabinet which is the principal instrument of policy and is presided over by the Prime Minister, it consists entirely of Africans from a single-chamber Legislature.

2. a Legislature—the Legislative Assembly—whose 104 members are chosen entirely by direct election.

The Governor retains his existing reserve powers and is responsible in his discretion for External Affairs (including the Trust Territory of Togoland), Defence and the Police: an advisory Committee of three Ministers helps him in the discharge of these duties.

Elections are based on universal adult suffrage and the electoral districts are divided on a population basis. The Prime Minister is the leader of the majority party in the Assembly—the Convention People's Party.

A Public Service Commission and a Judicial Service Commission ensure the independence and impartiality of the Civil Service and the Judiciary respectively. Africanization of the Services is being accelerated.

4. *Foreign Relations since 1945*

Since External Affairs are still among the Governor's reserved powers, the Gold Coast is still ultimately subject to the United Kingdom Parliament in the matter of foreign relations. The Gold Coast maintains a Commissioner in

London. Mr. K. Mercar, who took up his appointment in 1954, was the first Gold Coast citizen to hold this post.

5. *Economic Resources and Foreign Trade*

The following were the foreign trade returns for 1948 and 1953-54 (June 53-May 54):

	1948	1953-4
Imports	£31,400,000	£70,290,000
Exports	£56,100,000	£98,030,000

By far the most important export is cocoa which accounts for well over half the total value. Other exports of importance are gold, manganese ore, timber and diamonds. The chief imports are cotton manufactures, machinery, iron and steel manufactures, motor vehicles, artificial silk, cement, tobacco and provisions.

Trade is principally with the United Kingdom, but considerable business is also done with the Netherlands, the U.S.A., Japan, Western Germany and India.

An Industrial Development Corporation with a capital of £1,000,000 promotes local industries. Existing enterprises include cocoa, butter manufacture, brewing, food canning, lime juice and salt production and furniture and soap making.

The Volta River Project envisages a £144,000,000 scheme with U.K. and Canadian support, whereby a dam and hydro-electric station built on the River Volta will provide electricity for a large-scale aluminium industry and other industrial purposes and, by creating the largest artificial lake in the world, provide water for irrigation. Ultimately, the power-station will provide a generating capacity of 564,000 Kw. Aluminium production should reach a rate of 210,000 tons a year. Related developments will include a new port, roads and railways, housing, schools and hospitals.

In 1952-53, revenue was £36,844,100 and expenditure £34,247,860.

LIBERIA

1. *General*

THE REPUBLIC of Liberia is situated on the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa. It is bounded on the West by Sierra Leone, on the North and East by the Ivory Coast, and on the South by the sea. The area of the Republic is 43,000 square miles and the population is estimated at 3,500,000.

The capital is Monrovia (population 35,000). The main races inhabiting the Republic are the descendants of the Afro-American settlers, Mandingos, Gissi, Gola, Kpwesi, Kru and Groboes. The main religious groupings are Christian, Muslim and pagan. The language of the Republic is English.

The whole country lies within the tropics and the climate is Equatorial, warm and humid, with heavy rainfall. The two chief rivers, the Mano and the Cavalla from the North-Western and Eastern boundaries respectively. There are extensive forests and large areas of swamp.

2. *History*

The Liberian coast was explored and mapped by the Portuguese in the 15th century.

Liberia was founded as a colony for emancipated Afro-Americans in 1822 by the American Colonization Society of the United States. In 1947, the Society, having surrendered its powers to the Afro-American colonists, Liberia was declared a sovereign, independent republic, with a constitution modelled on that of the United States. Until a short while ago the Afro-Americans had almost exclusive control of the affairs of the country, but adult suffrage was introduced

in 1947 and the indigenous people are now represented in the government.

3. *Constitutional Framework*

President: The Hon. William V. A. Tubman

Vice-President: William R. Tolbert

As in the United States, the executive power is vested in the President who is assisted by a Ministry. The President is elected for an 8-year term. There are two houses of the Legislature—a Senate with 10 members who are elected for a six-year term, and a House of Representatives with 24 members who are elected for a five-year term. The President and his Ministers belong to the majority party—the True Whigs.

4. *Foreign Relations since 1945*

Since independence, Liberia has maintained close and friendly relations with the United States and the United Kingdom. She is a member of the United Nations. In 1950 Liberia signed an agreement of assistance and cooperation with the United States.

Liberia maintains several diplomatic missions abroad, including one in the Lebanon.

5. *Economic Resources and Foreign Trade*

The following were the foreign trade returns for 1947 and 1952-3:

	1947	1952-3
Imports	\$ 7,762,768	\$ 16,703,395
Exports	\$ 13,092,039	\$ 33,595,019

By far the most important export is rubber. Other important exports are iron-ore, palm-kernels and palm oil and cassava. Main imports are: metals, machinery, rice, tobacco, textiles, vehicles, and petroleum products.

The main crops grown are rice, cassava, sugarcane, coffee and cocoa. Banana growing is being developed. The Firestone Plantation Company, an American concern, has a one million-acre concession for growing rubber, although the greater part of the concession has not yet been taken up. The company is responsible for most of the rubber grown in the Republic and employs nearly 25,000 people.

There are extensive iron-ore deposits in the Bomi Hills and gold and diamonds are also being mined.

Under the 1950 Agreement with the United States, Liberia receives \$ 30,000,000 aid under the Point Four Programme for development, which is to be supervised by a joint U.S.-Liberian Commission for five years. At the same time the Export-Import Bank of America made a loan to the Republic of \$ 5,000,000 for roads and construction.

In 1952-3 the national revenue was \$ 10,000,000.

LIBYA

1. *General*

THE UNITED KINGDOM of Libya is situated on the Mediterranean Coast of Africa and is bounded on the West by Tunisia and Algeria, on the South by French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa and on the East by the Sudan and Egypt. The area of the whole Kingdom is 810,000 square miles and the estimated population (1951), 1,150,000. The Kingdom is made up of the three provinces of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and Fezzan.

The joint capitals are Tripoli, with a population of 142,400, and Benghazi, with a population of 60,000. Other important centres are Misurata (63,000) and Homs-Cussabat (56,000). The people of Libya are principally of Arab stock. There is, however, a Berber element in the West and an African element in the Fezzan. In Tripolitania there is an Italian minority. The official language is Arabic and the official religion Islam.

The greater part of Libya is desert which is almost entirely barren and is part of the Sahara. There are no rivers. In the coastal areas of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica there are springs and cultivation is possible. There are also a number of important oases.

The coastal climate is Mediterranean, while the southern portion of the country has a typical subtropical desert climate.

2. *History*

Tripolitania was originally a Phoenecian colony. Cyrenaica was a colony of ancient Greece. In the seventh century the Muslim Arabs conquered both Tripolitania and

Cyrenaica and they were ruled from Tunisia. In 1553 the Turks became the rulers, but in time Tripolitania became virtually independent and was a great centre of piracy. In 1835 all Libya again came under effective Turkish rule and was proclaimed a Turkish *Vilayet*.

In 1911, in consequence of a war with Turkey, Italy obtained possession of Libya. Italian rule lasted over thirty years and Italian farming colonies were planted in the coastal region. In 1942-3, the British expelled the Italians and their German allies.

In December 1951, following a resolution of the United Nations Assembly, Libya was recognized as an independent and United Kingdom under the sovereignty of King Mohammed Idris el Senussi.

3. *Constitutional Framework*

Head of the State: H.M. King Mohammed Idris el Senussi

Prime Minister: Mustapha Ben Halim

The constitution of the United Kingdom of Libya provides for a hereditary monarchy with a federal and representative form of government. There are two chambers of the Legislature:

(a) a Senate of 24 members—8 from each province, of whom half are nominated by the King and half elected by the provincial Legislative Councils. The Senators' term is for 8 years, and half of them are elected every four years.

(b) a House of Representatives whose members are elected. The population of each constituency is fixed at 20,000. At present the provincial representation in the House is as follows: Tripoli 35, Cyrenaica 15, Fezzan 5.

Each province is governed by a Governor assisted by an Executive and a Legislative Council.

4. *Foreign Relations since 1945*

Libya has a treaty of alliance and friendship with Great Britain. Britain is to provide financial aid to Libya for 20

years from 1953 and Libya is to make military facilities available to Britain.

Libya has also obtained grants and technical assistance for development from Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy and the United Nations. Libya maintains a number of diplomatic missions in foreign countries including Egypt and Turkey.

5. *Economic Resources and Foreign Trade*

The following were the foreign trade returns for 1948:

Imports	..	£ 11,513,197
Exports	..	£ 4,629,798

The most important products are agricultural, e.g. dates, olives, oranges, cereals, almonds, grapes and mulberries. Fishing is carried on in the Mediterranean and sponges are recovered for export. There is little industry except for the production of carpets, embroidered fabrics and leather goods.

In 1952-3 the national revenue was £6,026,000.

THE SUDAN

1. *General*

THE SUDAN is situated in North-eastern Africa. To the North it is bounded by Egypt, to the North-West by Libya, to the North-East by the Red Sea, to the East by Ethiopia and Eritrea, to the South by the Belgian Congo, Uganda and Kenya and to the West by French Equatorial Africa. The area of the country is 976,750 square miles and the population is about 8,766,000. Racially the people are either Arab or African or a mixture of the two. The majority are Muslims, but among the Africans there are many pagans and some Christians. The great River Nile flows through the Sudan from the Uganda border in the South to the Egyptian border in the North. The Southern portion of the river, named the White Nile, is joined at Khartoum by the Blue Nile, which rises in Ethiopia. The Northern half of the country is a land of Savannah plain and desert dependent on the rivers for the essential water to maintain agriculture and support its population. The Southern Sudan is a land of tropical forests and swamp lands, with an adequate rainfall. In the South the climate is Equatorial.

Administratively the Sudan is divided into nine provinces. The capital, Khartoum, has a population of 83,000. The adjoining city of Omdurman has 1,30,000. Other centres are Port Sudan (62,000) and Atbara (37,000).

2. *History*

Before 1820 there was no unity in the Sudan which was divided between a number of petty kingdoms which were normally hostile to one another. After 1820 the greater part

of the Sudan was conquered by Egypt. In 1881 there was a revolt against the Egyptian Government led by Mohammed Ahmad ibn Sayed Abdulla who proclaimed himself 'Mahdi'. By 1885 he had obtained control of almost the whole of Sudan. In 1882 the British established themselves in Egypt and in 1896-8 a joint Anglo-Egyptian force under Lord Kitchener reconquered the Sudan. In 1899 Britain and Egypt signed a Condominium Agreement, which set up a Sudan Government under a British Governor-General responsible to both the British and Egyptian Governments.

In 1922 Britain recognized Egypt as a sovereign independent state. From this time Egypt showed greatly increased interest in the affairs of the Sudan and her policy aimed at the unification of the Nile valley, i.e. the union of Egypt and the Sudan. The Sudanese were themselves now beginning to demand an increasing share in the government of their country. The events of the second World War greatly stimulated Sudanese nationalism and in 1953, following an agreement between the British and Egyptian Governments, a substantial measure of self-government was introduced. The first General Election was held in November 1953 and resulted in the victory of the National Unionist Party led by Ismail El Azhari. Parliament met on 1 January 1954, from which date a transitional period of 3 years began, during which the Administration, the Police and Defence Forces are to be completely Sudanized and at the end of which all British and Egyptian forces are to be withdrawn.

3. *Constitutional Framework*

The Governor-General : Sir Robert George Howe
Prime Minister : Ismail El Azhari

Under the transitional constitution, there are a Governor-General and two Houses of Parliament. The Upper House or the Senate consists of 50 members of whom 30 are elected and 20 nominated by the Governor-General. The Lower House or the House of Representatives consists of 97 elected

members. The Prime Minister is appointed by the Governor-General after being elected by the House of Representatives. He is, therefore, the leader of the majority party. Other Ministers are appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the Prime Minister. The Council of Ministers is responsible to Parliament for the conduct of all Government business excepting Foreign Affairs and Defence for which the Governor-General remains responsible.

Elections are based on a combination of indirect elections by specially qualified voters in some areas and direct elections by all adults in others areas.

4 *Foreign Relations since 1945*

Since the Sudan is still subject to a Governor-General appointed on behalf of the Governments of Egypt and the United Kingdom, she has little control of her foreign relationships. The Sudan Government maintains an Agent in London and has close friendly relations with India.

5. *Economic Resources and Foreign Trade*

The following are the foreign trade returns for 1948 and 1953.

	1948	1953
Imports	£ (E) 22,153,257 ¹	£ (E) 50,688,000
Exports	£ (E) 23,250,037	£ (E) 44,410,000

The principal export is cotton which, together with cotton-seed, accounts for 75 per cent of the total exports. The chief imports are cotton and silk piece-goods, iron and steel products, machinery, motor vehicles, petrol and foodstuffs. Trade is principally with the United Kingdom, but substantial business is also done with India and Egypt.

1. £ (E) 1 = £1-0-6d sterling.

The Gezira Cotton Scheme, which was started soon after the first World War and is now a partnership between the Government and the cultivators, was made possible by the building of a dam across the Nile at Sennar and the construction of canals. Over 20,000 cultivators are employed and in 1951 the crops realised £ (E) 54,000,000 and the Scheme has made a substantial contribution to the revenues of the country. The amount of land under the Scheme is still being increased. Besides cotton, the main agricultural products are citrus fruits, gum arabic, oilseeds and dates. Camels, sheep and cattle are reared in large numbers and a meat processing factory has been established at Kosti.

In 1952-3 revenue was £ (E) 28,619,000. Expenditure was £ (E) 24,557,850.

EAST ASIA

CHINA

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

THE HUGE land mass of China extends through thirty-five degrees of latitude, from 18° N. to 53° N., and sixty degrees of longitude, from 74° E. to 134° E. It has an area of 3,750,000 square miles and a population of some 590 million (including that of Formosa). Because of its immense size, the climate of China varies from one region to another. It is cold in the North, hot in the South, and temperate in between. Since the coast of China bulges eastward in a great curve, there are sharp differences in climate. There is an abundance of rainfall in the East and the South, while the West and the North are a good deal drier.

China's history and civilization, being among the most ancient of the nations of the world, are characterized by a self-contained and highly-developed culture. It was only in the 18th century that the history of China began to feel the impact of the Western world. By then the activities of the Europeans in China had changed from intermittent contact to growing pressure, with various Western countries competing for the China market. Foremost among them was Britain which, under the pressure of its industrial revolution, came into conflict with Chinese efforts to keep the foreigners and their goods out. This resulted in the Opium War of 1842, in which China was badly defeated, and the Treaty of Nan-king which completely changed the international status of China. China was thrown open to foreign political and economic penetration, Chinese customs came under foreign control; treaty ports and foreign concessions, where the writ of the Chinese authorities did not run, were set up, and the 'most-favoured nation' principle was established, by virtue of which any privilege won from the Chinese by one foreign

power was equally enjoyed by all the other countries having interests in China. Thus China came under the political and economic control of not one country but a number of countries. Outright colonization of China was averted only by rivalries among the competing foreign powers.

The two most important developments in China between the Opium War and the Chinese Revolution of 1911 were the Taiping Rebellion (1848-1865), and the Boxer Rebellion (1900). The Taiping Rebellion, lasting more than 15 years and taking a toll of some 20 million lives, was both a peasant revolt and a national uprising against the Manchu Empire and it was eventually put down with the help of a British officer, the famous 'Chinese Gordon'. The Boxer Rebellion was directed against both the Manchu rulers and foreign powers and was suppressed only with the help of an international military expedition. In 1894, Formosa, and in 1904, Korea, were taken away by Japan. It was followed by the Revolution of 1911 which overthrew the empire and instituted a republic under Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Still, unity eluded the Chinese people and there ensued a period of extreme political confusion with the warlords ruling different parts of China. The Revolution, however, had spread deeper into the Chinese masses and, under the guidance of Sun Yat-sen, the Kuomintang Party, in coalition with the Communists, was busy preparing the people for the Second Revolution of 1926-27 when the revolutionary armies marched north from Canton to unify all China. At the height of this campaign there was a split in the Kuomintang between the conservative and the leftist elements and the leadership of the Kuomintang passed into the hands of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek who broke with the Communists and established his power in most parts of China.

The Communists established their guerrilla type of 'Red Power' in small pockets in the interior of the country and a civil war followed between the Kuomintang Government and the Communists. Not content with taking Manchuria in 1931, the Japanese continued pushing further in North China with the aim of ultimately bringing the whole of China under their control. The growing Japanese pressure produced a popular demand for united resistance to foreign encroachments. In

1937 Chiang Kai-shek reached an agreement with the Communists for national unity and joint resistance to Japan and China entered the second World War united in her determination to fight against foreign aggression.

2. Post-war Developments and Constitutional Framework

In 1945 World War II ended in victory for the Allied countries and China became not only an independent country but was given the status of one of the Big Five in the international field (along with the U.S.A., U.K., U.S.S.R. and France). Yet political unity remained a coveted but distant goal. In 1946 unfruitful efforts were made, with the mediation of the United States, to bring the Kuomintang, the Communists and other parties together to achieve national unity and set up a constitutional government, but civil war continued to rage in full fury between the Kuomintang and the Communists. By 1949 the civil war was running out its course and the Communist armies were winning all along the line. Before the end of the year the Kuomintang had left the mainland and taken refuge in Formosa. Out of the confusion and chaos of the civil war emerged a strong, unified, centralized New China.

A Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) was called on 21 September 1949 to establish the new order. There were represented in the Conference 14 parties and groups, 9 regions, 6 army units, and 16 people's organizations, representing workers, peasants, youth, women, students, industrialists, national minorities, overseas Chinese, religious circles, and scientific, cultural, and educational workers. The CPPCC adopted a Common Programme to which all parties and groups in the United Front in China undertook to subscribe, drafted an organic law for itself, established the Central People's Government of China, formulated the organic law of the new Government and elected a Central People's Government Council—the highest organ of the State, which was given the task of organizing and supervising the administrative, judicial, and military functions of the Government. Mao Tse-tung was named the Chairman

of the Council and Chou En-lai became the Prime Minister. On the 1st of October 1949, Mao Tse-tung formally proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China.

The CPPCC became the supreme organ for exercising state power until the election of an All-China People's Congress and its Common Programme was regarded as the interim Constitution of China. The CPPCC elected a Central People's Government Council which in turn elected a Government Administration Council. The former body represented the People's Republic in international relations, assumed the leadership of the State apparatus at home, enacted and interpreted laws, promulgated decrees, supervised their execution and appointed or removed the Government Council. The Government Administration Council, headed by a Prime Minister, responsible to the Government Council, was the actual executive authority and was entrusted with the task of coordinating the activities of various ministries and commissions and supervising the work of the local people's governments throughout the country. There was no separation of powers between the different organs of state: the CPPCC exercised state power while it was in session, and the Government Council exercised it when the former was not in session. Both could legislate, lay down policies and pass administrative decrees as long as the decisions of the Government were not repugnant to those of the CPPCC. The CPPCC maintained supervision and liaison with the Government Council through a National Committee (meeting more often than the larger body) and a Standing Committee of the National Committee. The entire country functioned on the principle of 'democratic centralism' according to which the lower echelons must obey the higher ones and the minority must abide by the decisions of the majority.

During 1953 and 1954 elections were held both for local congresses (assemblies) and the National People's Congress. In June 1954 a draft Constitution was published for public discussion and on 20 September 1954 the draft Constitution with some modifications was adopted by the newly elected National People's Congress. The new Constitution retains many features of the Common Programme. The National

People's Congress has replaced the CPPCC as the highest organ of State power, although the CPPCC continues to exist as the organizational form of the United Front. The National People's Congress has also become the sole organ exercising legislative power. It elected the Chairman (Mao Tse-tung has been re-named the Chairman) and Vice-Chairmen of the People's Republic as well as nominated, on the recommendation of the Chairman, the Prime Minister, who continues to be Chou En-lai. The Chairman is neither the head of State above the legislature nor the chief executive counterbalanced by the legislature. He represents the nation in its foreign relations and, in accordance with the decisions of the National People's Congress, he exercises specified powers of promulgating laws, ratifying treaties with foreign states, proclaiming a state of war and appointing or removing the Premier. The previous two bodies, the Government Council and the State Administration Council have been substituted by a single body, the State Council, which, as the government of the country, is the highest administrative organ and is responsible only to the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee and acts as its executive organ. The National People's Congress exercises continuous supervision over the Government through its Standing Committee.

3. *Foreign Relations*

After the proclamation of the People's Republic of China on 1 October 1949, the new regime invited other countries to establish diplomatic relations with it on the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty. Besides the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries, Burma, India, Ceylon, the U.K., Pakistan, Indonesia, the Scandinavian nations and a number of other countries accorded recognition and established diplomatic relations with New China. But the United Nations has not recognised the new regime in China. The first treaty that New China concluded was the Treaty of Friendship with the Soviet Union on 14 February 1950, which stipulated that if either party were attacked by Japan or any power allied with Japan, the other would give

military aid with all the means at its disposal. It declared the intention of the two powers to seek a peace treaty with Japan in conjunction with their allies of World War II. The Soviet Union also undertook to assist in the industrialization of China with a long-term credit of \$ 300 million and technical aid. China also entered into trade agreements with a number of countries and expressed its readiness to trade with any other country on the basis of mutual benefit. However, China's trade has been overwhelmingly with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. A significant trade agreement that China concluded with a non-Communist country was the barter deal with Ceylon in October 1952, providing for the purchase of Ceylon rubber by China in return for Chinese rice. Recently, there has also been an extension of trade with Japan, the United Kingdom, Western Germany and France.

A major development in China's international relations was the decision, late in 1950, to intervene in the Korean war and send its 'volunteers' to the aid of North Korea. This was occasioned by the approach of the American-led forces to the Sino-Korean border in the North. For nearly three years Chinese soldiers fought in Korea and this entailed the full participation of China in all the negotiations to end the Korean war and find a political solution to the Korean question. On 23 November 1953 China signed an 'Agreement of Economic and Cultural Cooperation' with North Korea. China agreed to give North Korea \$ 300 million between 1954 and 1957 for the restoration of Korean national economy. A parallel development was the growing aid in equipment given by China to Ho Chi Minh in 1953-54. While, on the one hand, it led to the Geneva settlement of the Indo-Chinese problem, on the other it precipitated the setting up of a Southeast Asian Defence Organization sponsored by the U.S.A.

Among other important documents that New China has signed with foreign countries are the Tibetan Trade Agreement with India and the joint communiqués issued by the Prime Ministers of China and India and China and Burma. The agreement on Tibet in April 1954, besides laying down the procedure for trade and cultural interflow between Tibet and India, was the first enunciation of the famous five principles, now known in India as the *Pancha Sila*. These are:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; 2. Non-aggression; 3. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs; 4. Equality and mutual benefit; 5. Peaceful co-existence. These principles were reiterated in the communiqué issued after Premier Chou En-lai's visit to New Delhi on his way back from Geneva to Peking in June 1954. The two Prime Ministers declared that they should be applied to relations among all the countries of the world and that, if this were done, there would be a substantial easing of international tensions. These principles were also reiterated by the Prime Ministers of Burma and China upon the latter's visit to Rangoon which was his next halt from New Delhi.

A further development in the relations between China and India took place when the Indian Prime Minister visited China in October 1954. The Chinese Premier, welcoming Prime Minister Nehru, stated that China welcomed the Indian Prime Minister's policy of extending areas of peace and that China, for her part, was willing to cooperate with India in the furtherance of this policy. A similar development took place in relations between China and Burma when the Burmese Prime Minister visited China towards the end of 1954. On the conclusion of his visit, Premier U Nu said that there was no longer any suspicion left between the two countries and that henceforward friendship between the two would continue to grow. China has also started negotiations with Burma and Indonesia for a settlement of the problem of the status and nationality of the Chinese minorities in these countries.

4. *Some Economic Facts*

About China's natural resources there have been differing opinions, some experts maintaining that China is deficient in many vital raw materials, while others are of the view that China is potentially rich in natural resources, with a good deal of hidden, untapped wealth. For instance, estimates about China's coal reserves vary from 23,435 million tons to 994,987 million tons. China has large known deposits of iron ore but, again, the estimates vary. The 1947 estimate of the

National Geological Survey of China was 2,555 million metric tons while that made by the Bureau of Mineral Exploration of the National Resources Commission was 5,069 million metric tons. China has generally been considered as poor in petroleum and the known reserves were estimated in 1947 at 779 million metric tons, including 520 million tons of oil-bearing shale. But the Chinese authorities have recently claimed discovery of large petroleum deposits. China is particularly rich in tungsten and antimony.

The agricultural as well as industrial production was severely hit by the civil war during 1947-1949 and it was only with the end of the civil war late in 1949 that the rehabilitation process started. By 1952 production had been generally restored to the pre-war level and started registering improvements over the previous peak figures. The 1952 output of grain and cotton exceeded the previous peak levels. The production of agricultural foodstuffs was stated to be 163,750,000 tons and that of raw cotton 1,252,000 tons. For 1953, it was stated that, despite natural calamities, the output of grain was slightly higher than in 1952. The 1954 official figures for key industrial products were as follows:

Electric Power		10,800,000,000 Kwh.
Coal		81,990,000 tons
Pig Iron		3,030,000 tons
Steel		2,170,000 tons
Cement		4,730,000 tons
Cotton Yarn		4,600,000 bales

The national income of China is estimated at \$ 30 billion and the *per capita* income about \$ 60. As for foreign trade, since it is under strict state regulation and guidance, the problem of balance of payments is not quite the same as for other countries. China has been exporting raw materials, particularly agricultural foodstuffs, to pay for her large imports of capital machinery. China's trade has been largely with the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries but the Chinese Government has indicated its willingness to expand trade relations with the West European as well as other Asian countries.

The Chinese economy is mixed. Land was nationalized in 1949. A large part of the heavy industrial (80%), banking (100%), transport (railways 100%, inland ships 60%) sector is under state control; lighter industries (60%) and retail trade (70%) is still largely under private enterprise.

JAPAN

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

STRUNG OUT in a great arc along the coast of East Asia, Japan, consisting of four main islands of volcanic origin, lies to the North-East of the great continental mass of Eurasia and is bestowed with a temperate climate, plentiful rainfall and a fairly fertile soil. Extending from latitude 30° N. to 45° N., Japan has an area of 142,000 square miles and a population of 88 million. The physiographic diagram of Japan shows no large plains and nearly all parts are mountainous, with two parallel chains, one each along the west and the east coasts, forming a long curve.

Japan's contact with the world (excluding China and Korea with whom she has had intimate cultural contacts almost from the dawn of Japanese civilization) dates back to that fateful day in July 1853 when Commodore Parry's ships steamed into Tokyo Bay and forced open the 'double-bolted door' of Japan. Japan's isolation was at an end and once the door had been opened, there was no closing. Britain, an old hand at colonization, followed up the American initiative and soon many other European countries were also competing for this 'last prize in the competition for world market'. With alarm but a characteristic realism, the Japanese authorities realized that their shore batteries were no match for the steam-powered warships of the Westerners and that, if they were to maintain the independence and integrity of their country, they must catch up with the modern techniques of western industry and defence.

Soon, the Japanese embarked upon a deliberate programme of learning Western science and technology and the methods of mass production. Within a remarkably short time

they built up a strong army and navy, modern industry, and a large reserve of technical personnel, making Japan a world military power. It was the heyday of colonialism and most of the European powers were engaged in building huge empires. Feeling the need for vital raw materials which were in meagre supply in Japan but which were essential for her industry and a rising level of economic activity, the Japanese leaders thought it necessary to secure more natural resources and markets on the Asian continent for the rapidly developing Japanese industry as well as to strengthen Japan's defences. In 1894 Japan fought a war with China over the control of Korea. It resulted in an easy victory for Japan and in the peace treaty of 1895 China, among other things, also ceded to Japan the strategically placed Formosa and the Pescadores Islands. Japan also began to exercise progressively all the attributes of full sovereignty and, by 1899, it became the first Asian land to be totally rid of the extra-territorial rights enjoyed by Western countries in almost all the Asian countries. By 1911 she also resumed full control of her tariffs which were previously restricted by various treaties that she had been compelled to sign with a number of Western powers.

Japan soon clashed with Russia. In 1902 Japan concluded the Anglo-Japanese Alliance—a military pact between Japan and Great Britain, the greatest naval power of that time—by which each country agreed to come to the aid of the other if one of them, when engaged in a war with one power, should be attacked by another. The Alliance was directed against Russia and with this treaty Britain gave the green signal to Japan for a war against her old rival in the Far East. In February 1904 with a lightning blow Japan crippled the Russian navy in the Far East and then declared war. In 1905, the U.S. President, Theodore Roosevelt, arranged peace between the two and Russia recognized Japan's paramount interests in Korea. In 1910 Japan annexed Korea.

In World War I, Japan, as an ally of Britain, declared war against Germany and after the war annexed many German colonies in the East, including the Mariana, Caroline and Marshall group of islands which were later given to Japan as Mandates by the peace treaty. Japan attended the peace conference at Versailles in 1919 as one of the Big Five

(U.S.A., U.K., France, Italy and Japan) powers of that time.

At home, after the war, Japan was increasingly influenced by democratic trends. The Diet had already been created in 1890 and gradually its popular character was strengthened by lowering the tax requirement and thus expanding the electorate. Various sections of society, like the businessmen, admirals, generals, bureaucrats and intellectuals started taking part in the politics of the country and there was an upsurge of political parties which assumed the reins of government through the functioning of the Cabinet system and depending upon the vote of confidence in the Diet. Soon other sections, the white-collar workers and then the labouring class, also began to participate in politics, giving a great fillip to the development of liberal democratic institutions. This trend, however, did not last very long, and an ultra-nationalistic and militaristic reaction set in. In 1932 party politics collapsed, the Diet lost its power, and the government went into the hands of the military leaders.

In 1931, the Japanese occupied Manchuria and from 1932 to 1937 continued to push forward in North China and Inner Mongolia. In 1937 occurred what the Japanese called the 'China Incident' in which Japanese troops clashed with the Chinese near Peking and occupied Peking and Tientsin. The fighting thus started soon developed into a full-scale war between China and Japan. When the second World War started in 1939, although Japan was aligned with Germany, she did not join the fighting at once. In December 1941, however, she suddenly attacked and wiped out the US Pacific Fleet stationed at Pearl Harbour and later dealt a similar blow to the British fleet based at Singapore. Soon the Japanese troops were in occupation of Indochina, Thailand, the Philippines, the East Indies, Malaya and Burma. But in the end the Japanese forces were driven back from all these places and the use of the atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki hastened the final defeat of the Japanese forces. On 14 August 1945, the Japanese Government surrendered unconditionally and accepted the terms enunciated by the Potsdam Declaration in the previous month. The Japanese islands were to be occupied by the US armed forces till the conclusion of a peace treaty and she was stripped of all the

foreign possessions she had acquired in the previous fifty years.

2. Post-war Developments and Constitutional Framework

Under American occupation, the political life of Japan was reorganized with the aim of establishing a representative government based upon universal adult suffrage, an executive deriving its authority from and responsible to a legislature fully representative of the electorate. With this objective in view, the new Constitution was promulgated on 3 November 1946 and it went into effect from 3 May 1947. The Constitution established the parliamentary system of government, as in England, and guaranteed fundamental human rights and freedom of thought and expression. It expressly renounces war as an instrument of national policy.

The Constitution provides for two houses of legislature, the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors; members of both the Houses were elected. The Diet has become the highest organ of the State, representing the sovereign will of the people. The executive power of the State is exercised by the Cabinet which is composed of the party or parties commanding a majority in the Diet. The Cabinet functions on the principle of collective responsibility. The position of the Emperor is that of a constitutional monarch. The executive power of the Cabinet is discharged by the different organs of administration which are governed by the National Government Organization Law, promulgated on 5 July 1948.

Japan held its first post-war elections, based on universal adult suffrage, on 10 April 1946. The four chief political parties in the field were: the Liberals, the Progressives (later changed into the Democratic Party), the Social Democrats, and the Communists. The first two parties were conservative parties. No party gained an absolute majority and Shigeru Yoshida, leader of the Liberal Party, formed a conservative coalition with the Progressive Party. On the eve of the coming into effect of the new Constitution, fresh elections were held on 25 April 1947. This time the Social Democratic

Party gained a plurality of seats but not an absolute majority. The next general election, held in January 1949, saw a strengthening of both the Right and the Left at the expense of the Centre. The Liberal Party increased its strength from 132 to an absolute majority of 264 seats in the House of Representatives. The Democrats' strength fell from 126 to 68 and the Socialists declined from 143 to 49. Communist representation rose from 4 to 35.

The tendency towards political polarization was reversed in the general elections of 1 October 1952, in which the Liberal Party, though still the majority party, lost in strength, from 285 to 240 seats. The Progressive Party, renamed as the Democratic Party, won 85 seats. The Socialists were the biggest gainers. Despite the fact that they had been split in October 1951 into right-wing and left-wing parties, they won a total of 111 seats, with the Right Socialists jumping from 30 to 57 and the Left Socialists from 16 to 54. The Communists failed to elect a single deputy. The Liberal Party was split into the followers of Prime Minister Yoshida and his rival Ichiro Hatoyama. On 14 March 1953, following a censure motion carried by the Opposition and alleging Mr. Yoshida's subservience to the United States, reactionary domestic policies and an impolite attitude towards the Diet, the House of Representatives was dissolved and a general election was held on 19 April. Yoshida's Liberal following slumped to 199 seats; the Progressive Party secured 76; the Left Socialists won 72 and the Right Socialists 66; the Hatoyama Liberals 35; and the Communists one. The Yoshida Liberal Party was still the single largest party and Mr. Yoshida continued to head the government. A compromise agreement was effected with the Hatoyama Liberals resulting in their re-entry into the mother party.

The Liberal Party, however, continued to be rocked by inner disunity. In 1954 there were hectic efforts for a merger of anti-Yoshida conservative elements into a single new political party and, finally, in November 1954, 40 members of the Liberal Party bolted and merged with the Progressive Party to form the new Japan Democratic Party. In early December, Mr. Yoshida resigned to make way for Mr. Hatoyama who became Japan's new Prime Minister while the Foreign

Ministry went to Mr. Shigemitsu of the merged Progressive Party. The Socialists agreed to support the new Cabinet on the promise that fresh elections would be held forthwith. A new general election is slated for February 1955.

3. *Foreign Relations 1951-54*

After 1945, Japan had hardly any independent foreign relations until the end of the U.S. occupation late in 1951. Pending the conclusion of a peace treaty, Japan's foreign relations were the concern of the Occupation authorities. The United States and Britain called a peace conference in September 1951 to conclude a peace treaty with Japan, the draft of which they had circulated earlier among their allies in the war with Japan. New China was not invited to the conference. Burma, India and Yugoslavia, although invited, did not attend the Conference. Fifty-one nations met at San Francisco from September 4 to 8, out of which forty-eight countries signed the treaty which stripped Japan of all her foreign possessions. Czechoslovakia, Poland and the U.S.S.R. did not put their signatures to it. At the same time, Japan signed a Security Treaty with the U.S.A., granting the latter the right to station its armed forces and maintain bases in Japan to protect her from external attack and internal subversion.

With the conclusion of the peace treaty, the external relations of Japan came back under the control of the Japanese government. India ended its state of war with Japan and concluded a separate bilateral peace treaty and established normal diplomatic relations with her. Japan also concluded a separate peace treaty with the Kuomintang Government at Formosa. So far as other Asian countries, particularly Burma, Indonesia and the Philippines, were concerned, the establishment of normal diplomatic relations was linked to the question of reparation claims of these countries for losses in the last world war. Japan opened negotiations with them for the settlement of this issue. With Burma, Japan has been successful in negotiating a reparations agreement in September 1954, obliging Japan to pay

Burma \$ 200 million in capital goods and services and \$ 50 million in economic cooperation over a 10-year period, and on 5 November the two countries signed a bilateral peace treaty patterned, excepting the provisions relating to reparations, along the lines of the earlier peace treaty between Japan and India.

The new Prime Minister, Mr. Ichiro Hatoyama, has stated that he would welcome steps to normalize relations with the Communist countries and expand trade with New China. Both the Soviet Union and New China have also indicated their desire to end the state of war with Japan and promote trade and other contacts with her.

4. *Some Economic Facts*

Japan, on the whole, is not rich either in minerals or agricultural foodstuffs. More than 20 per cent of its staple food consumption, all of its sugar requirements, nearly all of raw cotton and wool, 95 per cent of petroleum, and a substantial portion of raw materials such as salt, coal, iron ore, oil and fat have to be imported in order to maintain the present level of economic activity. Only copper, gold and silver are found in large quantities. There are also a number of coal-fields in Kyushu and Hokkaido but the home coal production is not sufficient to feed the Japanese industry. Japan is poor in iron ore deposits, the estimated reserves being a paltry 5 million tons.

Such heavy dependence on imports necessitates a high level of exports, making Japanese economy highly susceptible to the changing economic situation in the world. Japan is the most highly industrialized country of Asia, which enables her to export manufactured goods that pay for her vital imports. Japan's industrial production now stands at a little over 160, if the average for 1934-36 is taken as 100. However, Japan's foreign trade has not yet recovered from the dislocation caused by the last World War and in 1954 was only 42 per cent of the pre-war level: partly, this has been due to the fact that Japan has lost the China market. Before the war, China, Korea and Formosa (which China had ceded

to Japan by the treaty of Shimuoseki in 1894) took nearly half of Japan's exports and supplied Japan with a number of essential raw materials, but they now account for only 9 per cent of her exports. China alone absorbed 18 per cent of Japanese exports before the war; she took only 0.4 per cent in post-war years.

Another factor is the change in the pattern of foreign trade since the last war. Before the war, silk and cotton products accounted for about one-half of Japanese exports and formed the major source of foreign exchange earnings. Particularly in East and South Asian markets, textiles were the heaviest item in their Japanese imports. The post-war trend, however, has shifted away from textiles to machinery and capital goods. In recent years Japanese exports of silk have been only one-seventh, and those of cotton only one-third, of the pre-war level. Although Japanese exports to and imports from South-east Asia have increased to 36 per cent and 21 per cent respectively, compared to the pre-war figures of 19 and 17 per cent, and although Japan has increased its export of machinery, Japanese industry is not yet sufficiently adjusted to the changed pattern of international trade. The net result of all these factors has been the precarious position of the balance of international payments with a deficit of nearly a thousand million dollars in 1953 which was covered only by the U.S. 'special procurement' orders and the spending of U.S. forces stationed in Japan.

Japan's national income and *per capita* income level stands midway between the underdeveloped countries of Asia and the highly industrialized countries of the West. In 1953, the national income was \$15.2 billion and the *per capita* income was \$188. The rate of growth of the national income has been fairly high. In pre-war years it was 4.4 per cent per annum and in post-war years it has been 10 per cent. However, this high rate should be discounted to some extent as Japan's economy is still in the course of recovery from the dislocation of the last world war. The rate of growth was substantially less in 1954.

SOUTHEAST ASIA

BURMA

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

AT ITS LONGEST, from North to South, Burma is about 1,200 miles; near latitude 21°N. , at its widest, it stretches from East to West for 575 miles. Lying between latitudes $9^{\circ}55'$ to $28^{\circ}30'$ N. and longitudes $92^{\circ}10'$ to $101^{\circ}9'\text{E.}$, it has an area of 261,289 square miles with a population of 18,510,000. On the North it is bound by China, its North-West Frontier touches Assam and Bengal, on the West lies the Bay of Bengal and to the South-West, the Gulf of Martaban. In the East, it is bordered by Yunnan, Laos and Siam.

The country can be divided into three parts. The Arakan Yoma range of mountains forms the barrier between India and Burma. Some of its peaks are as high as 10,000 feet. The Shan plateau, a part of the Yunnan plateau, occupies the eastern part of the country extending down to Tenasserim. It has an average height of 3,000 feet and the Salween flows through it. Between the Arakan Yomas and the Shan plateau flow the Irrawaddy and its tributaries, the Chindwin and the Sittang rivers. The richest soil in the country lies in the Irrawaddy delta and in the river valleys.

The climate of Burma can be divided into three seasons. The cool season, which is rainless, extends from the end of October till February. It is followed by a hot, dry season, from March to the end of May. The rainy season lasts from June to October. The Arakan area has nearly 200 inches of rainfall. In Rangoon the annual rainfall is 99.1 inches. On the sheltered side of the Arakan Yoma, there is a dry belt which has a rainfall of 20 inches only. There is a moderate rainfall in the Shan plateau. The average temperature in South Burma is 80°F.

Burma contains peoples of different races and languages. Most of them have a Mongolian origin; among them, the Burmese are the most prominent. They live in the fertile lowlands, while people of other races are scattered in the hills. The Karens are spread over the Irrawaddy delta, the Pegu Yoma, Karenni and the eastern Toungoo hills. The Shans inhabit the Shan plateau and the upper part of the Chindwin valley. The Kachins live in the North and the North-East. The Chins belong to the western mountains. The Burmese are Buddhists. Christianity is widespread among the Karens, while the hill tribes are animists.

Buddhism has been the dominating tradition in the country for 2,000 years. King Anawrata founded the Pagan dynasty in 1054 A.D. which lasted till 1287. The Shans ruled Burma from 1287 to 1531. In 1531, the Toungoo dynasty established a Burmese Kingdom. One of the rulers of this dynasty, Bayinnaung (1551-81), captured Ayuthia, the capital of Siam, subdued half of Siam and the Shan states, and reigned over the whole of Burma except Arakan. He exchanged missions with Bengal and Ceylon. During his son's regime, Burma was attacked by the Siamese and the Arakanese. In 1752, the Alaunghaya dynasty, the last dynasty of the Burmese Kings, took over. King Alaunghaya, founder of this dynasty, was a powerful king. He reconquered the whole of Burma and invaded Siam. His son also raided Siam and Manipur, repelled a Chinese invasion and a Siamese attack.

In 1627, the British and the Dutch East India Companies started their factories in Burma. In 1824, the British alleged that some Burmese troops had entered their territory in Bengal, British warships reached Rangoon, a fight ensued, and the Treaty of Yandabo in 1826 led to the cession of Arakan and Tenasserim to the British. The Second Burmese War was fought in 1852 and, on 20 December 1852, Pegu was annexed by the British. Ten years later the British Indian Government, which had taken over from the East India Company, constituted the Burmese territories into the province of Burma. The British quarrelled with King Thibaw who had signed contracts with the French for building a railway and a flotilla on the Irrawaddy. He had also fined the British-

owned Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation for an alleged breach of contract. In November 1885, British troops defeated the King. On 1 January 1886, the whole of Burma became a British dependency.

In 1897, Burma was made a Lieutenant Governor's province and, in 1923, was raised to a Governorship. The Governor and two members of his Executive Council were appointed by the King and dealt with the reserved subjects. Two ministers, appointed by the Governor from the elected members of the Legislative Council, dealt with the transferred subjects.

Following the Government of India Act of 1935, on 1 April 1937, Burma was separated from India and given a Governor and a legislature independent of the Indian Government. The legislature now consisted of a Senate of 36 members (50 per cent nominated) and a House of Representatives of 132 elected members. The administration was handled by a Prime Minister assisted by 10 ministers. Defence, external affairs, and excluded areas were outside the purview of the legislature. The Shan states with an area of 62,000 square miles were administered by their own chiefs. A commissioner supervised these and the Karenni states. The Burma High Court of Judicature was established in 1922. It consisted of a Chief Justice and 9 other judges.

The Japanese invaded the country in December 1941 and Rangoon fell in March 1942. By June, the Japanese had occupied most of the Burmese territory and the British Government of Burma withdrew to Simla in India. In Burma, the Japanese sponsored a government under the Premiership of Dr. Ba Maw. In 1944, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League was established under U Aung San's leadership, who built up a Burma National Army which played a significant role in the expulsion of the Japanese. In September 1945, the British returned to Burma.

In September 1946, six members of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL), led by Aung San, joined the Governor's Executive Council. Aung San became Deputy Chairman of the Council with special responsibility for defence and external affairs. On 20 December 1946, the British

government invited the leading Burmese politicians to London. There it was decided that a Burmese Constituent Assembly should be elected in April 1947. In the ensuing elections the AFPFL secured 173 seats out of 182 general seats.

The Constituent Assembly met on 10 June 1947 and elected Thakin Nu as its President. On 19 July, Aung San and six of his colleagues were assassinated. Thakin Nu succeeded Aung San in the Executive Council. In August 1947, Burma and the U.K. signed a defence agreement and provision was made for a British military mission in Burma. Thakin Nu visited London in October 1947 and negotiated a treaty with Britain recognizing the independence of Burma outside the British Commonwealth. On 4 January 1948, Burma became independent.

2. *Constitutional Framework*

The constitution of the Republic of Burma was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 24 September 1947 and came into force on 4 January 1948. It enumerates fundamental rights of citizens, such as equality before the law, equality of opportunity in public employment and other professions, freedom of speech, assembly and peaceful association. Women are entitled to equal pay with men for equal work. The special position of Buddhism is recognized, but there is full freedom of conscience. Private property is permitted, but monopolies and cartels are forbidden. There is provision for nationalization of private enterprises, if necessary, after compensation.

The State is the ultimate owner of all lands, and large land holdings are prohibited. The Directive principles of State policy include the right to work, the right to maintenance in old age, sickness or following loss of capacity to work, the right to rest and leisure and the right to education. The State has renounced war as an instrument of national policy.

The President of the Union is elected for 5 years by both Chambers of Parliament in a joint session and cannot serve for more than two terms. The President appoints a Prime

Minister as the head of the Government on the nomination of the Chamber of Deputies. The President summons, prorogues, and dissolves the Chamber of Deputies on the advice of the Prime Minister. Every bill must be signed by the President for its enactment into law. He has the right of pardon.

The legislative power of the Union is vested in the Parliament consisting of the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Nationalities. Every citizen who has attained the age of 18 has the right to vote. Every citizen whose age is 21 or above is eligible for the membership of Parliament.

The Chamber of Deputies consists of members who represent constituencies of not less than 30,000 or more than 100,000 persons. A number of seats are reserved for the Karens in proportion to their population. The Chamber of Nationalities has a strength of half the number of the Deputies.

The Chamber of Nationalities consists of 53 Burmese seats, 25 for the Shan States, 12 for the Kachin States, 8 for the Special Division of Chins, 3 for the Karenni State, and 24 for the Karens.

All Bills, except money bills, may be initiated in either Chamber and are passed by both Chambers. In case of disagreement between the two Houses, both Houses vote together in a joint sitting. Money bills can be initiated only in the Chamber of Deputies.

The Union Government, headed by the Prime Minister, is collectively responsible to the Chamber of Deputies.

All the Shan members of the Parliament constitute the Shan State Council. The representatives of the Shan State in the Chamber of Nationalities are elected by the *Saohpas* of the Shan State from among themselves. The *Saohpas* are not eligible for membership of the Chamber of Deputies. The State Council may recommend to the Parliament any law that lies outside its own legislative powers. Bills passed by the State Council are to be signed by the President. A member of the Union Government, known as the Minister for the Shan State, looks after Shan affairs and is the Head of the Shan State, exercising the executive authority of the State. Similar

Councils and heads of state are appointed for the Karenni State, the special division of the Chins and the Kachin State.

Any of the autonomous states has a right to secede from the Union, provided the decision of its State Council is ratified by a plebiscite. In October 1951, the State of Karen was added to the Burmese Union.

3. *Foreign Relations*

After independence Burma had to face numerous rebellions and a foreign invasion. Soon after the independence, the Communists revolted and dislocated the economy and the political system. A Karen rebellion broke out in January 1949. To save Burma from financial difficulties, the Governments of Britain, India, Pakistan and Ceylon advanced to her a loan of £6,000,000 in 1951. In 1949, Kuomintang (KMT) troops fleeing from China entered Burma and established themselves in the country, causing havoc in the northern and eastern parts of the country. In March 1953, Burma complained to the United Nations. Thereafter efforts have been made by the United Nations to persuade the KMT troops to evacuate, but only partial success has been achieved so far.

Burma did not participate in the San Francisco Conference on the Japanese Peace Treaty. A reparations agreement was negotiated between Burma and Japan on 25 September 1954 whereby Japan agreed to provide \$250 million worth of products and services over a period of 10 years. Out of this, \$200 million were earmarked for direct reparations while the remaining \$50 million were earmarked to finance the joint Japanese-Burmese enterprises and to provide loans to the Burmese Government. This agreement was formally signed on 5 November 1954, along with the bilateral peace treaty.

Burma participated in the Colombo Conference in April 1954 but declined to participate in the Manila Conference of September 1954.

In June 1954, Premier Chou En-lai of China visited Rangoon and he and Premier U Nu, in a joint statement, declared that they would work for world peace and agreed

that the five principles, agreed to between India and China, should also guide Sino-Burmese relations.

Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia arrived in Rangoon in September and, in a joint statement, he and Premier U Nu pledged to work for easing the world tension, particularly in Southeast Asia. They also agreed on the desirability of calling the African-Asian Conference at an early date.

In December 1954, Premier U Nu made a goodwill visit to China where he reaffirmed the five principles of peace agreed upon between Burma and China in June 1954. In a joint statement on 12 December 1954, U Nu and Chou En-lai expressed their desire for the enlargement of the area of peace. They also declared that between 1955 and 1957 China would import 150,000 to 200,000 tons of rice annually from Burma, in exchange for industrial installations and equipment. U Nu also attended the Bogor Conference of the Asian Premiers last December, where preliminary questions of the Asian-African Conference were considered.

4. *Economic Resources and Foreign Trade*

Burma is an agricultural country. Two-thirds of the cultivated area is under rice. Millet, cotton and groundnuts are the other major crops. Rubber-production has also been introduced.

Burma has extensive mineral resources, petroleum being the most important. It has extensive deposits of brown coal (lignite) in the Chindwin valley estimated at 265 million metric tons. Tin and tungsten are found in Tenasserim and Yamethin. Other metals found are copper, silver, lead, nickel, iron and zinc.

TABLE I

Agricultural Production

(thousand tons)

	1952-53	1953-54
1. Paddy	5,740	5,527
2. Groundnut	176	191
3. Sesamum	54	44
4. Cotton	24	22
5. Lentils	181	187
6. Tobacco	46	47
7. Millet and Wheat	77	80

(Economic Survey of Burma, 1954, Rangoon)

TABLE II

Total of Timber Output

(cubic tons of logs)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Teak</i>	<i>Other hardwoods</i>
1952-53	132,673	368,900
1953-54	115,000	300,000

(Economic Survey of Burma, 1954)

TABLE III

Output of Minerals

	1939	1948	1953
1. Crude Petroleum (000 gallons)	275,673	12,658	37,647
2. Building and road materials (000 tons)	2,504	236	830
3. Lead and lead concentrates (000 tons)	77.2	11.6	9.8
4. Zinc concentrates (000 tons)	59.3	2.9	5.9
5. Tungsten (Wolfram) concentrates (000 tons)	4.3	0.4	0.6
6. Mixed tin and wolfram concentrates (000 tons)	5.6	2.1	2.0

(Economic Survey of Burma, 1954)

TABLE IV

*Foreign Trade**(million kyats)*

	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54 (Est.)
1. Exports	1,093	1,295	1,155
2 Imports	819	879	1,000

(Economic Survey of Burma, 1954)

TABLE V

Main Trading Partners
(Percentages)

<i>Exports</i>	1950	1951	1952	1953 (Jan.-Sept.)
India	18	24	28	20
U.K.	4	6	9	8
Malaya	6	9	10	13
Ceylon	30	21	15	12
Japan	13	14	10	13
Indonesia	12	12	12	13

<i>Imports</i>	1950	1951	1952	1953 (Jan.-Sept.)
India	43	27	30	27
U.K.	23	24	24	27
Japan	10	17	13	15
U.S.A.	4	2	5	4
Malaya	4	6	6	5
China	2	1	-	1

(*Quarterly Economic Review of South East Asia*,
London, September 1954)

CAMBODIA

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

CAMBODIA is situated between latitudes 10° - 15° N., and longitudes 102° $30'$ - 108° E. It is bound on the North and West by Thailand, the Gulf of Siam surrounds it in the South-west, Laos and Vietnam are in the North and East of the country. The Central depression has Tonle-sap, the Great Lake. The river Mekong flows through the country to Vietnam. The main mountain range is situated between the Great Lake and the Gulf of Siam, with peaks as high as 5,000 feet.

The tropical climate of the country can be divided into two seasons. One is from mid-October to mid-April, and is the dry weather. The rainy season is from mid-April to mid-October and is caused by the South-west monsoon. There is little variation in temperature.

The total area of the Kingdom is 70,000 square miles approximately and the population was 3,750,000 in 1948. The chief products are rice, fish, timber, cotton, sugar, rubber, nuxvomica, gamboge, cardamoms and lac. Unexploited forests cover three-fourths of the country's area.

The people are more akin to the Siamese than to the people of Tongkin or Annam. It is thought that the Khmer (Cambodian) race originated from the mixing of the aborigines with the Aryan and Mongolian invaders of the country. Buddhism is the religion of the people. Brahmanism is still influential at the royal court.

Centuries before the Christian era, immigrants from the east coast of India entered Cambodia and its culture was strongly influenced by the spread of Hinduism and the Sanskrit language. In the fifth century A.D., S'rutavarman

founded a dynasty and the Khmers evolved as a powerful nation. During the next several centuries, Cambodia retained its solidarity and power under different dynasties. The decline started in the late thirteenth century when the Thais started a series of attacks. At the close of the eighteenth century, the provinces of Battambang and Siem-reap were annexed by Siam, and the Siamese political influence grew at the Cambodian Court. The French came on the scene at that stage. In 1863, Pierre de la Gradière, Governor of Cochin China, came to Cambodia and turned it into a French protectorate. After some protests, Siam recognized the French protectorate over Cambodia in exchange for Battambang, Angkor and the Laos territory west of the Mekong River. The French-Cambodian Treaty of 1884 greatly reduced the powers of the King and intensified the French control of the country. Under French pressure, Siam ceded Battambang, Siem-reap (Angkor) and Sisipon in 1907.

During the pre-war days, the French practically controlled all important aspects of administration as well as foreign relations, public works, customs, and the finance. During World War II, under Japanese pressure, she had to give Battambang, most of Siem-reap and parts of Kompong Thom and Strung Treng back to Thailand according to the Treaty signed on 9 May 1941. These territories were returned to Cambodia in 1946 by the Thai-French Treaty signed in Washington.

When the Japanese deposed the French from power in Indochina in March 1945, the King of Cambodia declared the independence of his country. On 10 October 1945, French, British and Indian troops occupied Pnom Penh. On 7 January 1946, a *modus vivendi* was signed between France and Cambodia, under which effective authority was still retained by the French High Commissioner in Cambodia, who also happened to be the Counsellor to the King.

On 31 May 1946, an electoral law was promulgated for the election, by universal and direct vote, of a Consultative Assembly which was to give its opinion on the Constitution. The elections took place in September and the Constitution was promulgated on 6 May 1947.

2. *Constitutional Framework*

The 1947 Constitution declares that all powers emanate from the King but are exercised in his name by the National Assembly, the Ministers, or the Courts of Justice. The deputies to the National Assembly, the Lower House, are elected for four years by adult manhood franchise and direct vote. The Government is responsible to the National Assembly. The King summons the National Assembly and can dissolve it in certain circumstances. He also chooses the President of the Council of Ministers and appoints the Ministers proposed by him. The Council of the Kingdom forms the Upper House. It has 24 members of whom two are appointed by the King. Four members represent the government officials and the rest are variously elected.

In 1949, the National Assembly was dissolved. When elections took place in 1951, the Democratic Party again won. A Franco-Cambodian treaty, similar to the March 1949 Agreement between France and Vietnam, was signed on 8 November 1949. Cambodia was declared an independent and sovereign state within the framework of the French Union. The United Kingdom recognized Cambodia on 7 February and till March 1953 it has been recognized by 34 States. On 15 June 1950, France and Cambodia signed a Convention in implementation of the 1949 Treaty, and departments like Justice, Police, Public Health, Trade and Public Works were transferred to the National government. Cambodia also attended the Pau Conference in 1950 where certain economic agreements between Cambodia, the other Indochinese States and France were concluded.

In June 1952, the King dismissed the government of the Democratic Party and took the reins of power in his own hands. He promised peace and independence within three years. He made the National Assembly grant him full powers. In January 1953, he dissolved the National Assembly, charging that it had elements hostile to the King and related to the rebels. He paid a visit to France to win concessions, but failed. He returned to his country *via* the United States and Japan. After some time, to bring home his desire for the independence of his country, he went into self-imposed

exile in Thailand. He later returned to Cambodia but not to the capital.

On 3 July 1953, Premier Laniel of France promised to perfect the independence and sovereignty of the Associated States of Indochina. By an agreement between France and Cambodia on 9 October 1953, the latter got the right to control the greater part of the Cambodian armed forces, including part of those under the French Union forces.

The cease-fire agreements signed at Geneva resulted in the withdrawal of all Viet Minh troops from the country. The Geneva declaration also expressed the hope that Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam would be fully independent.

In September 1954, Son Ngoc Thanh, who had organized a non-communist resistance movement, surrendered.

The personal rule of the King was approved on 10 February 1955 by a referendum in which 794,876 voted for him and 1,276 against him.

3. *Foreign Relations*

On 8 September 1951, Cambodia signed the Japanese Peace Treaty. Cambodia is member of a number of specialized agencies of the United Nations like the FAO, ITU, WHO, WMO, UNESCO, and UPU. It is an associate member of the ECAFE. It is also a member of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee.

4. *Economic Resources*

(See Vietnam.)

INDONESIA

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

THE INDONESIAN archipelago contains over 2,000 islands spread over a vast and far-flung area lying between latitudes 6°N.-11°S. and longitudes 95°-141°E. Populated by 77,987,000 people, the land area is 735,268 square miles. The Indonesian territory includes Java, Sumatra, South Borneo, the Celebes, Bali, Lombok, Flores, part of Timor and the Molucca islands. The territory of West New Guinea, which is also claimed by Indonesia, is, at present, in Dutch possession. Most of the islands are mountainous, but the valleys and plains have fertile well-cultivated lands. Java is the most densely populated area; about 70 per cent of the country's population resides there.

Indonesia has a tropical climate, having dry and wet monsoon periods. From June to September is the dry monsoon season, while October to April is the wet monsoon period. Djakarta has a mean annual temperature of 79°F. Bandung, which is at a height of 2,500 feet has a mean annual temperature of 72.5°F.

The people of Indonesia are mainly descendents of the Malaya Polynesian race with a mingling of several other racial stocks. The Hindu cultural contacts began round about the 4th century A.D. and the Buddhist in the 8th, while the Islamic, the Chinese and the Arab traders reached these islands between the 12—15th centuries in pursuit of spices. Islam began to spread from the coastal areas in the fifteenth century and gradually spread to the interior of Java and Sumatra. The beginning of the 16th century saw the arrival of the Portuguese. The Dutch came a hundred years later and ended the Portuguese rule in the Moluccas.

In 1595, Cornelius Houtman, a Dutch sailor, led a small expedition of four ships to the East Indies, arriving there on 23 June 1596. On 20 March 1602, the Dutch East India Company came into being under a charter from the States-General. In 1609, the first Dutch Governor-General for the East Indies was appointed. In 1619, the Company took over the Kingdom of Jakarta. The superior naval power of the Dutch helped them in the conquest of the numerous tiny states of the country. On 31 December 1799, the Company's rule was ended and the East Indies came under the control of the Dutch Government. During the 19th century the Dutch started commercial coffee and rubber plantations and, in addition to spices, exported these and several other agricultural products to Europe.

The East Indies formed a part of the Netherlands Kingdom according to a provision of the Constitution and the Minister for Overseas Territories used to prepare broad outlines of administrative policy for the colony. The day-to-day administration was handled by the Governor-General for the East Indies. He represented the Dutch Sovereign and enjoyed wide executive and legislative power. He was assisted by the Council of the Netherlands Indies, a consultative body of four to six members, having a Dutch majority. In 1918, the *Volksraad* (People's Council) was set up as a purely advisory body by the Governor-General. Half of the 48 members of the *Volksraad* were nominated, and the Governor-General could always exercise his veto. In 1931, the membership was raised to sixty, out of which 38 were elective. The racial composition was as follows: 30 Indonesians, 25 Dutch and 5 Asians. Among the 38 elected seats, 15 were for the Dutch and 10 for the Indonesians; 10 Dutch and 2 Asians were nominated by the Governor-General.

The East Indies brought a yearly income of \$150,000,000 to Holland. In 1939, the investments in private industry amounted to \$3,500 million, out of which the Netherlands' share was two-thirds.

The Indonesians had to fight a long battle for their freedom. Between 1806 and 1907, twenty-five insurrections took place. The longest and most violent fight was waged in Atjeh

from 1872 to 1904. *Boedi Oetomo*, the first political organization of Indonesia, was founded in 1908 and attracted a good number of intellectuals and government officials. In 1916 the *Sarikat Islam* became a political party with self-government for Indonesia as its goal. Gradually it became a radical organization and developed leftist leanings and split into two parties. In 1912, the East Indian Party was formed, which under the name, *Insulinde*, turned into a revolutionary organization. A communist-led revolution in 1927 was suppressed. After this revolution, the *Partai Nasional Indonesia* was organized by Dr. Soekarno. In 1939, a new federation of political parties known as the *Gabungan Politik Indonesia* was formed. It demanded the formation of a bicameral parliament and the transfer of legislative and executive powers to the Indonesians.

In December 1941, war broke out in the Pacific. The Dutch, who had been defeated in Europe earlier, could not retain the East Indies and in March 1942, the East Indies passed under Japanese rule. After the defeat of Japan, the Indonesians under the leadership of Dr. Soekarno declared their independence. Dr. Soekarno was made the first President, and Dr. Mohammed Hatta the Vice-President. Between October 1945 and March 1946, as the Dutch troops arrived in large numbers, they clashed with the Nationalists. On 14 October 1946, a truce was effected between the Dutch and the Indonesians and on 15 November 1946, the Linggadjati agreement was initialled (finally signed on 25 March 1947). It laid down that by 1 January 1949 the whole of Indonesia would be granted self-government. It recognized the *de facto* Republican administration over Java, Sumatra and Madura. But the Dutch soon picked up a quarrel and, on 21 July 1947, they launched a 'police action' against the Indonesians. On 30 July, the Governments of Australia and India addressed letters to the Security Council about the disturbing situation in Indonesia. On 1 August, the Security Council called for a cease-fire and peaceful settlement. A Committee of Good Offices was established with Belgium, Australia and the United States as its members. On 17 January 1948, the second Truce Agreement was signed. But by the end of the year the Dutch

Government started their second military action. On 24 December 1948 the Security Council called for an immediate cease-fire and release of political prisoners. The international diplomatic pressure from the Americans and the British, together with the demand of the fifteen nations' New Delhi Conference on Indonesia, forced the Dutch to negotiate with the Nationalist leaders. After talks at the Hague, lasting from August to October 1949, on 27 December 1949 the United States of Indonesia became an independent state, as a partner in the Dutch-Indonesian Union.

2. *Constitutional Framework*

The first provisional constitution of the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed the day following the proclamation of independence. It sought to set up a unitary state with a Presidential executive and a unicameral legislature for ordinary laws. The People's Congress, meeting at least once in five years and constituted of the members of the legislature reinforced by the representatives of regional territories and other groups, alone possessed sovereign power. During the negotiations with the Dutch Government for the recognition of Indonesian independence, another provisional constitution was worked out at the Round Table Conference at the Hague (August-November 1949); it came into force on 27 December 1949. The Republic of Indonesia, although independent, agreed to join the Netherlands-Indonesian Union. In this constitution, the unitary Republic was transformed into the federal Republic of the United States of Indonesia. The federation was constituted of seven states and nine autonomous units. It provided for a bicameral legislature. The executive was changed to that of the Parliamentary type. The constitution enumerated Fundamental Rights and Principles (of State policy). In the lower chamber, the House of Representatives, one-third of the members were to come from the Negara (State) Republik Indonesia and seats were reserved for the Chinese, European and Arab minorities. The Indonesian leaders were not very happy at this change from a unitary to a federal structure and, after some effort, succeeded

in persuading all the member-states of the federation once again, on 15 August 1950, to establish the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia.

In this third provisional constitution there is a single-chamber legislature, the House of Representatives, to be elected on the basis of one member for every 300,000 citizens. Seats for the Chinese, European and Arab minorities are reserved as earlier. The executive is of the parliamentary type and the Council of Ministers is headed by a Prime Minister; while a minister holds his office he is not allowed to exercise his rights as a member of the House of Representatives, but he can address the members of the House whenever he desires. A convention, however, has developed under which the cabinet resigns when it loses the confidence of the House. Bills are initiated either on the motion of a Presidential message or of the House. They become law after they have been accepted by the President. The House is to be elected for a four-year term. The mode of Presidential election is to be defined by later legislation. As yet no election has been held for the membership of the House of Representatives. The present members are those who were nominated by the President on various considerations. There is a provision for setting up a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of one representative for every 150,000 citizens.

3. *Foreign Relations*

Indonesia joined the United Nations on 28 September 1950. She accepted the United States invitation of 20 July 1951 to participate in the San Francisco Conference to consider the draft of the Japanese Peace Treaty, which her delegation signed on 8 September. Some time in January 1952, Dr. Subardjo, the Foreign Minister in the Sukiman Cabinet, agreed to accept American aid under the Mutual Security Act. When this became known in the Indonesian Parliament in February, a storm of protest arose and the Sukiman Cabinet was criticized both for signing the Japanese Peace Treaty as well as for agreeing to accept American military aid. The

Sukiman Cabinet resigned and the Japanese Peace Treaty has not been ratified by the Indonesian Parliament.

In January 1954, Indonesia accepted the invitation of the Ceylon Government to participate in a South Asian Premiers' Conference at Colombo. Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo not only attended the Conference (28 April—2 May) but also initiated the proposal of a larger Afro-Asian Conference to be held some time later.

Since 1950, the Indonesian Government had been pressing the Dutch to transfer West New Guinea to Indonesia. Three Conferences between 1950 and 1951 still found the Netherlands Government unwilling to do so. On 19 February 1952, the constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands was amended and in the clause describing the Netherlands territories, 'Indonesia' was deleted and replaced by 'Netherlands New Guinea'. This led to strong protests in Indonesia and political circles began to demand the dissolution of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union, which in any case had had no occasion to function. After another attempt at negotiation with The Hague Government in June, on 10 August the two Governments jointly announced the dissolution of the Union. Seven days later, Indonesia appealed to the U.N. General Assembly to help her in the settlement of the West New Guinea dispute. On 30 November 1954, the Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly voted by 34 votes to 14 that the Netherlands and Indonesia should continue to try to solve their dispute over West Irian. But this resolution did not pass the U.N. General Assembly as it failed to get a two-thirds majority.

In September 1954, Premier Sastroamidjojo visited India. He and the Indian Prime Minister issued a joint communiqué expressing their common anxiety to further the cause of peace in the world and more especially in South-east Asia. They agreed that a Conference of the representatives of Asian and African countries was desirable. After Delhi, Dr. Sastroamidjojo visited Rangoon, and a similar statement by him and Premier U Nu was issued on 28 September.

In December, the Colombo Powers met at Bogor, in Indonesia, to discuss the preliminaries of the Afro-Asian Conference. It was agreed to hold this conference under their

sponsorship in Indonesia in the last week of April 1955, with the purpose of promoting goodwill and cooperation among the invited countries.¹

4. *Economic Resources*

Indonesia's mineral resources are varied and rich. The coal reserves of the country are estimated to be 2,500 million metric tons. In 1951 the proven reserves of oil were 1,000 million barrels. In 1945, bauxite reserves were estimated at 25 million and the iron ore reserves at 899 million metric tons. Indonesia is the second-largest producer of tin in the world.

Rubber is the major export item. Rubber and tin form the backbone of the Indonesian economy, accounting for 55 per cent of the total exports of Indonesia. Other important export crops are sugar, cocoa, copra, coconuts, palm oil, coffee, tea, pepper, etc. As a result of the second World War, Indonesia became a food-deficit country for some time but now self-sufficiency in food has been restored to a very large extent.

TABLE I
Production of Major Export Crops
(tons)

	1950	1953
Rubber	178,076	306,782
Tea	35,384	36,778
Coffee	11,111	21,847
Cinchona Bark	5,708	1,115
Cocoa	858	1,220
Sugar	277,091	619,521
Palm Oil	126,491	160,569
Palm Kernels	30,775	42,377
Hard Fibres	7,025	27,435

(Report on Indonesia, August-September 1954)

1. See Appendix VIII.

TABLE II
Production and Export of Tin
 (long tons)

	<i>Production</i>		<i>Exports</i>
	<i>Tin in concentrates</i>	<i>Tin in concentrates</i>	<i>Tin metal</i>
1952	35,003	34,601	15
1953	33,822	32,732	224

(Bank Indonesia Report, 1953-1954)

TABLE III
*Production, Imports and Exports of Petroleum
 and Petroleum Products*
 (000 tons)

	<i>Crude Oil</i>			<i>Petroleum Products</i>	
	<i>Production</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Exports</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Exports</i>
1952	8,523	1,901	599	118	6,854
1953	10,225	2,279	2,086	99	7,513

(Bank Indonesia Report, 1953-1954)

TABLE IV
Production and Exports of Bauxite and Coal
 (000 gross tons)

	<i>Production</i>		<i>Exports</i>	
	<i>Bauxite</i>	<i>Coal</i>	<i>Bauxite</i>	<i>Coal</i>
1951	.. 644	868	611	116
1952	.. 344	959	220	108
1953	.. 150	897	162	136

(Bank Indonesia Report, 1953-1954)

TABLE V

Indonesia's Balance of Trade
(Rp. million)

	<i>TOTAL</i>				<i>Oil Companies not included</i>			
	<i>Exports</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Balance</i>		<i>Exports</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Balance</i>	
1951	14,340	9,180	+	5,160	12,438	8,697	+	3,741
1952	10,387	10,533	—	146	8,317	9,546	—	1,229
1953	9,344	8,584	+	760	7,052	7,689	—	637

(Bank Indonesia Report, 1953-1954)

TABLE VI

Main Trading Partners
(Percentages)

<i>Exports</i>	1951	1952	1953	<i>Imports</i>	1951	1952	1953
Malaya and Singapore	34	27	24	Japan	19	14	17
Netherlands	21	21	23	Netherlands	12	13	12
U. S. A.	17	26	21	U. S. A.	20	17	18
U. K.	6	3	2	U. K.	6	7	7
Germany	3	4	5	Germany	6	7	7
Japan	3	3	5	Malaya and Singapore	5	2	1
				India	3	2	3

(Quarterly Economic Review of Indonesia,
October, 1954, London)

LAOS

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

STRETCHED over 600 miles from North to South in the Indochinese peninsula, the kingdom of Laos is situated between latitudes 13°40' - 22°40' N., and longitudes 100° - 107°40'E. It has an approximate area of 90,000 square miles with a population of 1,169,000 in 1947. Two-thirds of the population of Laos is related to the Thais and to the Shans of Burma. The remaining population consists of different tribes like Moi, Muong, Mans, Meos and Lolos, who had probably migrated to Laos from South China in the past centuries.

The country can be divided into High Laos and Low Laos. The former consists of deep river valleys and mountains with peaks as high as 6,500 feet. Low Laos is a steppe-like country, which is mainly used for rearing cattle. There is a wide variety of climate in the country. In Vientiane, the temperature varies from 50° to 100°. The South-West Monsoon, lasting from May to October, brings from 50 to 80 inches of rain to most parts of the country.

Laos is the least developed part of the Indochinese peninsula. The forest and mineral wealth is largely unexploited. Teak is the main forest product. Before the war, the tin mines in Laos used to produce 1,200-2,000 tons of ore per annum. There are no railways in Laos, but the Mekong river provides an important means of communication. It flows through seven of the eleven provinces.

About A.D. 713, the kingdom of Nan-Tchao was founded by the Laotians. By the end of the eighteenth century, a large part of Laos was ruled by Siam, while Annam had established sovereignty over the south-eastern part of the country. After 1830, part of Luang Prabang also paid tribute

to Annam. In 1893, three French military expeditions occupied important towns in Laos. Siam was forced to cede to France a large part of the Laotian territory under her possession under a treaty signed on 3 October 1893. The Luang Prabang area west of Mekong remained with Siam, but that also was taken in 1904. In 1907 Siam recognized the rights of France in Laos. During the pre-war years, southern Laos was administered by the French directly, while the northern part of the country was ruled as a French protectorate by the King of Luang Prabang. This arrangement remained unchanged during the Japanese period.

On 9 March 1945, Japan took over control of the whole of Laos, the French protectorate was ended and the independence of Laos was proclaimed. On 15 April 1945, a Laotian Government under Japanese protection came into being. After the fall of Japan, on 1 September, Prince Petsarath, the Premier, denounced the French protectorate in a proclamation. On 15 September, he declared the whole of the country as the Kingdom of Laos ruled by the King of Luang Prabang. In Vientiane, Issarak, or the Free Laotian, created a People's Committee which declared a provisional constitution on 12 October and a new provisional government under Phya Khammao was formed, and the king was made to abdicate. It was only early in 1946 that the French re-occupied Laos, and the Free Laotians had to move their government to Bangkok. Prince Petsarath now headed the Free Laotians and he was assisted by his brothers Souvanna Phouma and Souphanou Vong.

A *modus vivendi* was signed on 27 August 1946 between France and the King of Laos. It confirmed the unity and independence of Laos and democratic institutions for Laos were promised. The Deputies to a National Constituent Assembly were elected in January 1947, and a Constitution was proclaimed by the King on 11 May 1947. In August, elections for the National Assembly were held.

By the Treaty of 19 July 1949 between Laos and France, Laos became an Associated State within the French Union. By March 1954, 37 states had recognized Laos. When the 19 July Agreement was signed, the Free Laotian Government

in Bangkok dissolved itself; soon after this, Souvanna Phouma became the Prime Minister of Laos, but his brother Souphanou Vong did not submit and organized a resistance movement on Viet Minh lines. Prince Petsarath withdrew from politics. Prince Souphanou Vong established close contacts with the Viet Minh and announced the formation of a Laotian People's United Front in 1950.

Laos attended the Pau Conference in France (June-November 1950) where some financial arrangements with the Indochinese states and France were concluded.

On 22 October 1953, King Sisavang Vong signed a treaty of friendship and association with France in which Laos was recognized as 'a fully independent and sovereign' state. Laos reaffirmed her membership of the French Union. France undertook to support the sovereignty and independence of Laos.

The Viet Minh and the Free Laotian forces (*Pathet Lao*) had been active in Laos. On 9 February 1954, the advance Viet Minh troops reached within 12 miles of Luang Prabang. The Geneva agreement of July 1954 provided for a cease-fire in Laos. The Viet Minh and the French forces were required to leave the country and the fighting units of *Pathet Lao* were required to concentrate in the provinces of Phongsaly and Sam-Neua. In two declarations, the Government of Laos promised free, general elections by secret ballot and announced their intention not to join a military alliance not in conformity with the U.N. Charter or to give bases to foreign military forces unless the country's security were threatened.

2. *Constitutional Framework*

Laos has a constitutional monarchy. The King rules through Ministers who are responsible to the National Assembly. The National Assembly is elected for four years and exercises full legislative powers. The Council of the King consists of nine members who hold office for four years. Six of them are selected by the King and three by the Assembly. Its role is consultative. The executive power is exercised by the Council of Ministers which is responsible to the National Assembly.

3. *Foreign Relations*

Laos signed the Japanese Peace Treaty at San Francisco on 8 September 1951. Laos also became a member of the following specialized agencies of the U.N.: FAO, ITU, WHO, on 8 September 1951. Laos also became a member of the WMO, UNESCO, UPU. It is an associate member of the ECAFE.

4. *Economic Resources*

(See Vietnam)

THE PHILIPPINES

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

THE PHILIPPINE archipelago consisting of 7,100 islands is situated in the Pacific Ocean between latitudes $40^{\circ}20'$ — $21^{\circ}20'$ N., and longitudes $116^{\circ}55'$ — 126° E. The total area of the islands is 115,600 square miles and, according to the census in 1948, the population was 19,234,182, out of which 19,100,620 were Filipinos. The Chinese, who form the most important minority, totalled only 121,702. As compared to other South-East Asian countries, the Philippines do not have any foreign minority problem of significant proportions. The climate of the country can be divided into wet and dry seasons which last from June to November in the first case and from December to May in the latter. Manila is the capital of the country.

Before the Americans conquered the islands, they were a colony of Spain. During the Spanish rule, there were at least thirty major revolts by the Filipinos. On December 30, 1896, José Rizal, the famous Filipino scholar and hero, was executed by the Spaniards. This was the signal for a great revolution. Under Emilio Aguinaldo, a revolutionary army was raised which struck heavy blows against the Spaniards and almost defeated them. A Filipino republic was also proclaimed. On 1 May 1898, the Americans landed in the Philippines. President McKinley of the United States decided to keep the islands under U. S. control. On 4 February 1899, a new revolt flared up which was crushed only after sixty-thousand U. S. soldiers had been thrown into action. General Aguinaldo was captured and civilian government was restored in 1902.

In a proclamation on 21 December 1898, President McKinley said that the mission of the United States was 'one

of benevolent assimilation, substituting the mild way of justice and right for arbitrary rule'. The years between 1899 and 1913 form the period of U.S. stabilization in the country. During this period some ground work was done in the direction of local self-government and Filipinization at lower levels was undertaken. The Philippine Commission, in which the executive and judicial powers were vested, had only American personnel in the early stages, but a few Filipinos were associated with it later on. In 1907, elections were held for a legislative Assembly, the franchise having been granted to 4 per cent of the population. This Assembly formed the lower House and had some control over domestic legislation and finances; the Philippine Commission formed the upper House. Still, the Americans were in full executive control of the country. After the victory of the Democratic Party in the United States in the 1912 elections, the pace of granting self-government was accelerated. In 1916, the franchise was extended to all literate men above 21 or paying \$15 annually in taxes and the Commission was replaced by an elective Senate. The legislature was given increased powers in the field of domestic laws, taxation and expenditure.

Manuel Quezon, leader of the *Nacionalista* Party, led special missions to the United States in 1919 and 1924 to ask for his country's independence. But a specific promise in this connection was delayed till 1934 when the Philippines Independence Act was adopted by the U.S. Congress, providing for the establishment of a Commonwealth of the Philippines, which was duly inaugurated in November 1935. The Act promised independence for the country after a ten-year period of transition. Independence was actually granted on 4 July 1946.

2. *Constitutional Framework*

The Independence Act provided for the drafting of a Constitution for the Philippines. This Constitution was prepared by a Constitutional Convention during 1934-5. Originally, there was provision for a unicameral legislature, and six-year terms for the President and the Vice-President. As

amended in 1940, there are now two Houses of the Congress consisting of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The term of the President and the Vice-President has been reduced to four years. The executive power is vested in the President of the Philippines. The Supreme Court of the country is vested with judicial power. The Chief Justice and ten Associate Justices are appointed by the President with the consent of the Commission on Appointments. The Constitution includes a Bill of Rights consisting of 21 provisions which provide for the protection of basic human rights. Article X of the Constitution provides for a 3-member Commission on Elections which is appointed by the President with the consent of the Commission on Appointments for a nine-year term. This organ has 'exclusive charge of the enforcement and administration of all laws relative to the conduct of elections'. It is interesting to note that Section 3, Article II of the Constitution renounces war as an instrument of national policy and adopts the generally accepted principles of international law as part of the law of the Nation.

3. *Foreign Relations since 1945*

Before independence was granted to the Philippines, the U.S. Congress passed two acts, (1) The Philippines Trade Act, 1946, and (2) The Philippine Rehabilitation Act, 1946. The first Act provided for duty-free trade between the two countries for eight years (1946-1954). At the end of this period, there was to be a gradual increase in tariff until 1974 when all preferential trade relations are to come to an end. Section 341 of the Philippine Trade Act provided that the United States shall have equal rights with the Filipinos in the exploitation and development of the natural resources of the country. This section conflicted with Article 13, Section 1, of the Philippine Constitution and was later amended.

Under the Philippines Rehabilitation Act of 1946, a War Damage Commission was constituted which was empowered to pay out 400 million dollars to American and Filipino claimants. It was also empowered to grant to the Philippines Government surplus property worth \$100 million. Lastly,

it authorized the expenditure of 120 million dollars through U.S. agencies on various rehabilitation and training projects.

The agricultural economy of the Philippines was shattered by the Japanese occupation. The country lost 47 per cent of its carabaos,¹ 57 per cent of horses, 80 per cent of cattle, 70 per cent of the poultry and 29 per cent of the ploughs and 25 per cent of the harrows were destroyed. The American rehabilitation efforts were designed to help the Philippines again to stand on her feet. In August 1946, the U.S. Congress passed a law authorizing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make a loan of 75 million dollars to the Philippines. It is estimated that the United States spent about \$1.6 billion in the Philippines between 1945 and 1949 in rehabilitation, war damage claims, payments to veterans, etc. On 29 June 1950, the United States announced the despatch of an American Economic Survey Mission to Manila to study and report on the economic problems of the Philippines. This mission, headed by Daniel W. Bell, former Under-Secretary of Treasury, reported on 20 October 1950. It recommended revision of the tax structure, improved cultivation methods, provision of rural credit facilities, opening of new lands, redistribution of lands and the diversification of the economy by encouraging new industries. An adequate programme of public health, better education and housing, trade union rights for workers, a minimum wage for agricultural labourers and improvement in public administration were among its other recommendations. Lastly, the mission recommended that the United States give the Philippines financial help of 250 million dollars through loans and grants.

In November 1950, an agreement was signed between President Quirino and the Marshall Plan Administration whereby the Philippines were granted an economic aid of \$250 million.

Conditions in the Philippines took a turn for the better and early in March 1952, Mr. John M. Allison, U.S. Under-Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs, could say: 'Implementing the Bell Mission Report, tax revenues increased 60 per cent, tax collections for the first four months of the fiscal year

1. A water-buffalo used as a draught animal.

were up 113 per cent over the previous year; the Government's deficit dropped from 154 million pesos to less than 1 million pesos; production of export crops boomed'.

The question of securing reparations from Japan has been a major headache for the Filipino Governments after the war. On 12 May 1949, the United States Government announced its intention to terminate removal of reparations from Japan under the Advance Transfers Programme instituted by the U.S. interim directive on 4 April 1947. The United States also withdrew its proposal on the division of Japanese reparations shares. The Philippines protested in vain against these U.S. steps. On 8 September 1951, the Philippines signed the Japanese Peace Treaty. In mid-April 1954, the Philippines agreed to receive 400 million dollars from Japan in reparations. This agreement was later on scrapped and negotiations were started afresh.

To strengthen its defences, the Philippines have chosen to get associated with the United States. On 14 March 1947, a Military Bases Agreement was signed in Manila between the two countries. Within a week, another agreement, known as the Military Assistance Agreement, was signed. During a visit to the United States in August 1949, President Quirino promised that his country would fight to the last man on the side of the United States in any new world conflict. A Mutual Defence Treaty between the United States and the Philippines was signed on 30 August 1951. According to Article IV of this treaty, each party recognizes that 'an armed attack in the Pacific area on either of the Parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common dangers in accordance with its constitutional processes'. On 23 June 1954, the United States and the Philippines exchanged notes which provided for the quick establishment of a Mutual Defence Council under the terms of the 1951 Mutual Defence Treaty.

The Philippine interest in regional co-operation goes back to May 1950, when she invited Australia, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Thailand and Indonesia to meet in a conference at Baguio in the Philippines. The final act of this conference did not provide for any security arrangement but it contained recommendations about economic, technical and cultural co-

operation. When in 1954 Mr. Dulles developed the idea of a South-East Asian Defence Organization, the Philippines was in the forefront to support this move. On 16 May and 21 July, the Philippines Foreign Secretary, Mr. Carlos P. Garcia, asked the United States to proceed with the formation of a South East Asian Defence body. The Philippines also requested the United States to guarantee her defence. Mr. Dulles assured the Philippines at the opening of the U.S.-Philippines mutual defence talks early in September 1954 that if an attack was made on her the United States would act immediately. The assurance was not as categorical as the Philippines wanted, but it seems to have satisfied her. When the Philippines signed the South East Asian Collective Defence Treaty on 8 September 1954, it was for her only a reassertion of what she had been proclaiming for a long time.

Mr. Magsaysay's election as the President of the Philippines late in 1953 has resulted in the development of a definitely Pan-Asian outlook in the foreign policy of that country. Mr. Romulo who was the first Asian President of the U. N. General Assembly, from September 1949 to September 1950, had already done good work towards the formation of the Arab-Asian group in the United Nations. Significantly, Mr. Leon Guerrero, Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, said on 8 February 1954, 'We are going to be in Asia for a long time, and the sooner we realize it, the better.'

There has been a further cementing of U.S.-Filippino relations during the Magsaysay regime. In mid-December 1954, an economic agreement was signed between the two which was a great advance over the 1946 Trade Act. The Philippines were now permitted to have full control over their own currency, while formerly the peso was arbitrarily pegged to the dollar at a two to one ratio. The citizens of each country were given rights to engage in trade in the other on a basis of reciprocity.

4. *Economic Resources and Foreign Trade*

The Philippines are quite rich in mineral resources which include: gold, silver, platinum, copper, lead, zinc, aluminium,

molybdenum, iron, manganese, chromium, asbestos, coal, asphalt, rock oil, sulphur, salt, gypsum, pyrite deposits, phosphate rocks, limestone, clays and building stones and materials. Large parts of the islands are still unexplored. Before the war, the Philippines imported two-thirds of its requirements of coal, the rest being produced at home. The coal reserves of the Philippines have been estimated to amount from 25 to 45 million tons. Petroleum deposits exist in the Bodoc Peninsula in Tayabas, and in Leyte, Cebu, and Cotabato. But the development has been very meagre. Large deposits of iron exist in Bulacan, Camarines Norte, Surigao, Samar and Marinduque.

Between 1931 and 1940, the mineral industry made remarkable progress and the value of mineral production increased from pesos 7,524,867 to P. 94,897,581. Out of this, the value of gold production was P. 78,308,289. On account of the war, the progress of the mining industry was hampered. There has been a slow recovery after the war.

The forest resources of the Philippines are large. According to estimates, 45.48 per cent of the total area of the country is covered by commercial forests, 12.52 per cent by non-commercial forests, 2.07 per cent by swamps and the rest of the area is either cultivated or grassland. The total volume of standing commercial timber is estimated at 1,094 million cubic meters. The wood industry before the war had an estimated investment of P. 30,116,550, and 168 saw mills were operating. Of the latter, 138 were destroyed, damaged or looted during the second World War. In 1948 there were 342 saw mills.

Rice is the chief agricultural product of the Philippines. Normally, the country produces sufficient rice, but this is always subject to natural factors. The problem of land distribution needs to be solved with greater energy and imagination as only this can solve the problem of rural unrest as expressed in the Hukbalahap movement. Sugarcane is one of the most important agricultural products of the Philippines. Between 1920 and 1934, the production of sugar increased by leaps and bounds and rose from 466,912 short tons to 1,652,593 short tons. The United States buys practically the whole of the sugar output of the Philippines. Other important export

products are cocoanut, abaca and tobacco. Cotton, flax, ramie, silk, sisal, magney, rubber, derris, kapok and wheat constitute the auxiliary crops.

The livestock industry received a severe setback during the war and is now slowly recovering. Of the 3,015,400 carabaos in 1940, only 1,317,130 were left in 1945 at the close of the war. A comparable depletion took place in the number of cattle, horses, hogs, goats and sheep.

TABLE I

Production of Major Export Products—Crop Year 1953

Commodity	Quantity m. tons	Per cent of		
		1937	1951	1952
1. Copra ¹	812,316	155.6	78.4	85.1
2. Coconut oil	141,254	66.3	104.0	97.1
3. Copra meal or cake ²	82,958	53.8	104.0	97.1
4. Desiccated coconut	56,700	159.7	85.9	108.8
5. Avaca un-manufactured	118,700	59.2	91.0	103.6
6. Cordage rope ³	3,967	53.2	70.7	83.8
7. Tobacco leaf	22,270	61.4	74.6	83.5
8. Sugar	1,028,447	101.4	121.2	105.3
9. Timber ⁴	1,360,573,000 bd. ft.	156.1	100.7	118.0
10. Lumber	421,278,000 bd. ft.	133.4	90.4	96.4

1. Inclusive of copra converted into coconut oil.

2. By-product of coconut oil.

3. Export figure.

4. Inclusive of lumber.

TABLE II
Mining Production, 1952-53

Item	1953	1952	Per cent increase or decrease (—)
1. Gold (fine ounces)	480,625	469,408	2.4
2. Base metals (m. tons)	1,811,611	1,750,032	3.5
Chromite	557,090	543,514	2.5
Manganese	21,508	20,627	4.3
Copper	12,715	13,241	(—) 4.0
Iron	1,217,864	1,170,350	4.1
Lead	2,434	2,300	5.8

TABLE III
Direction of International Trade 1953

Countries	Imports (000 Pesos)	Exports (000 Pesos)
1. All countries ..	855,116	784,917
2. North America ¹ ..	666,112	533,837
3. South America ..	1,959	22,374
4. North Western Europe	41,807	97,178
5. Southern Europe ..	4,538	13,220
6. East Europe and USSR	274	X
7. Middle East ..	30,619	4,683
8. Japan ..	40,157	96,586
9. Indonesia ..	20,724	656
10. Other countries of Asia	45,338	10,127
11. Oceania ..	2,459	392
12. Other Africa ..	760	2,708

1. Figures about the Philippines Trade with the U.S.A. are as follows:

Imports — 643,470 thousand pesos.

Exports — 529,144 " "

TABLE IV

Foreign Trade of the Philippines, 1951-53

<i>Period</i>	<i>Total Imports</i>	<i>Total Exports</i>	<i>Balance of Trade</i>
1951	962.5	819.4	— 143.1
1952	841.3	703.8	— 137.5
1953	855.1	784.9	— 70.2

(1953 *Annual Report of the Central Bank of the Philippines.*)

THAILAND

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

L Y I N G B E T W E E N 6° - 21° N. latitudes and 97° - 106° longitudes, is the country of Thailand, also known as Siam. The country has an area of 198,247 square miles with a population of 19,556,000 (1953). The North-western parts of the country are mountainous and forested; the North-east region is a plateau. The Southern region extending down to the Federation of Malaya is again mountainous. The plain in the central part of the country is highly fertile and well-irrigated. The coastal area grows a variety of palms, the central region grows rice, coconut and areca palms. The mountainous parts in the interior grow oaks, pines, chest-nuts, peaches, apples and a wide variety of other flora.

The country has a monsoon climate. The wet season is from May to October, caused by the South-West monsoon from the Bay of Bengal. Bangkok records an annual rainfall of 50 inches. The temperature during this season averages 65° - 75° F. at night and 75° - 85° by day. The cool season begins with the commencement of the North-East monsoon in November. There are cool nights with temperatures varying between 40° and 50° F. The temperature does not go above 90° F.

The attack of Kublai Khan in 1250 A.D. forced the ancestors of the Thai people to move from South-West China. Gradually they occupied the present Thailand. In 1350 A.D., Ayuthia became the capital of the first Siamese Kings. Their dominions extended to Moulmein, Tavoy, Tenasserim and the whole of the Malacca peninsula. Siam, at that time, attacked Cambodia and took Angkor. In the next 400 years, Siam occupied almost the whole of Cambodia and large parts of Laos also fell under her supremacy. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Siam was invaded by the Burmese and the Pegans.

In 1555 A.D., Ayuthia was taken and Siam was made a Burmese dependency. Phra Naret, the national hero, liberated Thailand, occupied Laos and Cambodia, and attacked Pegu with success. In 1767, Siam was again subdued by the Burmese. The capital was now shifted to Bangkok and a successful general, Phya Chakkri, founded the present dynasty.

In the early part of the 19th century, Siam negotiated commercial treaties with Great Britain and the United States. In 1855 and 1856, Siam negotiated additional treaties with these two powers and France which conferred the right of extra-territoriality upon their nationals and regulated the Thai custom duties.

In 1826, the British entry into Arakan brought Siam in direct contact with a Western power. On the eastern side it faced France which soon put an end to the Siamese control of Cambodia. At that time the Western frontiers of the French-controlled Annam ran along the mountains, east of the River Mekong. But the French had their eyes on the ancient Annamese claims on the areas down the Mekong River. By the treaty signed on 3 October 1893, Siam abandoned her claims on the territories east of the Mekong and the islands in the river.

Relations between France and Great Britain improved after the Anglo-French treaty of 1896. Siamese territory was divided into three zones; Siam was to have full control of the Central Zone, while the Western Zone was under British influence and the Eastern under the French. Not content with this arrangement, France put up further demands to Siam in 1902 and negotiated a new treaty which led to a further cession of 7,800 square miles of territory by Siam. In 1904, two provinces west of the Mekong were ceded to French-controlled Cambodia and a large area was added to Laos. The same year France and Great Britain signed an agreement not to annex any part of Siam under their influence. But in 1907, France secured an additional 7,000 square miles of Thai territory for Cambodia. Great Britain too acquired control over 15,000 square miles of the Malayan states of Trenggam, Kelantan, Kedah and Perlis.

On 24 June 1932, a group of military officers and civilians

brought about a revolution and the absolute monarchy was replaced by a constitutional monarchy. Under the new Constitution of 1932, the Assembly of the People's Representatives was established, half of its members being elected. The Assembly had full legislative powers and budgetary control. The principle of ministerial responsibility was adopted; the Assembly even had the right to override the Veto of the King. A State Council responsible to the Assembly was provided for and it was charged with the task of conducting the Government.

When the Second World War began, the militarist leaders became powerful. Claims on portions of Laos and Cambodia, taken away by France in 1893 and 1907, were revived. Through Japanese mediation, Thailand received back about 21,000 square miles of Indochinese territory.

On 8 December 1941, Japan demanded, and was allowed, the right of passage for her troops for their attack on Malaya. Japan virtually occupied the country. On 25 January 1942, Thailand declared war on the United States and the United Kingdom.

2. *Foreign Relations since 1945*

On 16 August 1945, the Regent of Thailand declared that the Thai declaration of war on the United States and Great Britain in 1942 and other acts hostile to the United Nations had been made against the will of the people. In January 1946, diplomatic relations between the United States and Thailand were resumed; Great Britain also terminated the state of war. Thailand returned to France the portions of Laos and Cambodia occupied by her during the war.

Marshal Pibul Songgram, the war-time Premier of Thailand, resigned before the end of the war, but on 8 November 1947, a *coup d'etat* was staged and after a short interval Marshal Pibul Songgram returned to the premiership.

Late in August 1949, Marshal Pibul Songgram advanced the idea of a South-east Asian Union. When the Korean war started, Thailand sent her troops to fight against the Com-

munists. Thailand has not recognized the People's Republic of China and continues to recognize Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's administration in Formosa as the legitimate government of China. Thailand has a strong Chinese minority, forming one-sixth of the population, and she is interested in keeping it away from Peking's influence. In 1952, the Thai Communist Party was declared illegal.

Thailand has been receiving plentiful military and economic aid from the United States. She had also signed the SEADO Treaty in July 1954.

3. *Constitutional Framework*

Before 1932, Thailand was an absolute monarchy. The King exercised all the powers and was advised by the Supreme Council of State and a ten-member Cabinet. The Supreme Council of State, consisting of five princes of wide experience, met once a week and was presided over by the King. A legislative council, established by the royal decree of 10 January 1895, was seldom consulted.

The 1952 constitutional amendment has set up a People's Representative Assembly. During the first ten years, half the members would be elected for a 5-year term and the other half would be appointed by the King. This Assembly is to act as the legislative body. A Council of Ministers is also provided for and is made answerable to the Assembly. In practice, the Assembly plays a small part in the political life of the country.

4. *Economic Resources and Foreign Trade*

Thailand has deposits of many important minerals. Some of the Malay peninsular tin mines are within the Thai borders. Before the war, Thailand ranked fourth in the world as a producer of tin and supplied 9.39 per cent of the world's output. The 1953 tin export figure was 13,680 tons.

TABLE I

Production of Minerals¹

	(000 piculs)		(000 metric tons)		
	<i>Wolfram</i>	<i>Lead</i>	<i>Gypsum</i>	<i>Antimony</i>	<i>Iron Ore</i>
1951	22.2	43.0	1.3	2.1	6.5
1952	26.9	40.7	—	2.3	2.9

1. *Asian Annual 1954, The Eastern World Handbok*, London.

The cement production in 1953 was 288,000 tons.

About 67 per cent of the land area of Thailand is forest. Teak grows above 15°N. latitude. Logs are floated down to Bangkok. Timber is also exported via Burma and Saigon. Teak exports in 1953 totalled 44,400 tons.

Rice is the most important product of Thailand and is exported in large quantities. Ninety-one per cent of the working population is engaged in agriculture and fishing. In 1953, Thailand exported 1,353,000 metric tons of rice, as compared to 1,555,000 tons in 1951. The 1951 production of other major crops was as follows: sugar-cane 1,291, coconuts 671, cotton, tobacco, pepper and maize 41.7, soya-bean 20.7, ground-nuts 75.9, mun-bean 26.0, sesame 7.2 thousand metric tons.

Rubber is another important product of the country. In 1953, Thailand exported 95,574 long tons of rubber: in 1951, she had exported 108,818 long tons of rubber.

TABLE II

Value of Foreign Trade
(Million Baht¹)

		1948	1952	1953
Exports	..	2,484	5,983	5,776
Imports	..	1,757	5,678	6,625

1. One pound sterling = 55 Bahts or Ticals.

TABLE III

Main Trading Partners
(Percentages)

<i>Exports</i>	1950	1951	1952	1953	<i>Imports</i>	1950	1951	1952	1953
USA & Canada	25	33	27	21	Japan	25	18	12	17
Malaya	31	27	26	29	USA & Canada	15	21	20	19
Japan	13	11	15	25	Malaya	14	13	15	11
Hongkong	9	6	9	15	U. K.	11	13	13	13
India	4	8	—	—	Hongkong	10	6	14	12
U.K.	3	2	1	1	India	3	7	—	—

TABLE IV

Main Commodities Traded
(Percentages)

<i>Exports</i>	1950	1951	1952	1953	<i>Imports</i>	1937	1938	1949
				Jan.- June				
Rice	49	42	47	55	Textiles	18	20	19
Tin	7	7	10	7	Foodstuffs	15	13	17
Rubber	24	29	27	13	Metal manu- factures	9	10	6
					Oil fuels	9	8	7
					Machinery	6	5	3
					Tobacco	5	3	3
					Yarns	3	4	7

(Quarterly Economic Review of Continental S.E. Asia,
September, 1954, London.)

VIETNAM

(North & South)

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

SPREAD ALONG the eastern coast of the Indochinese peninsula, Vietnam is situated between latitudes 8° - 23° N., and longitudes 100° - 109° E. It has an approximate area of 320,000 square kilometers, and the estimated population is 23,000,000. It has two important rice bowls. One in the north is located in the Red River Valley while the other is the rich Mekong River Valley. Hanoi and Saigon are the important cities of these two prosperous regions. Except for some fertile areas along the coast of Annam and the two rice bowls, the rest of the country is mountainous. The climate of the country is hot and humid, and the summer months (May-October) are also the months of heavy rainfall. Agriculture is the occupation of the majority of population, and rice is the major crop. Rice is grown on 86 per cent of the cultivated land. River transport is the most important means of communication in the country.

The story of the conquest of Vietnam by the French follows the usual pattern of European adventures in the Asian countries. In the late eighteenth century, the fugitive king of Cochinchina sought the help of a French bishop for the restoration of his kingdom. The bishop accompanied the king's son to Paris where a treaty was signed in 1787. Eventually, the king was restored and he was also assisted in conquering North Tongking. The combined territories constituted the kingdom of Annam. The son of the king suspected French missionaries of conspiracy and they were ordered to leave; on their refusal, many French and Spanish priests are reported to have been killed during 1833 and 1843.

This was followed by French gunboat demonstrations in 1843, 1844, 1847 and 1856.

In 1858, France and Spain joined forces against Annam. Saigon was captured. The hostilities were suspended in 1860 on account of the war against China but were resumed in 1861. In 1862, a treaty was signed which granted religious freedom to French missionaries and an indemnity of \$4,000,000. Three ports were opened to the French and Spanish merchants and three Cochin-Chinese provinces were ceded to France. In 1867, three more Annamese provinces were annexed. In 1874, France entered into a treaty with Annam whereby she acknowledged the independence of Annam and gave a promise for the protection of the latter. The Red River and three more ports were opened to French commerce; extra-territoriality was granted to all Europeans. This treaty also recognized the French annexation of three Annamese provinces in 1867. In 1882, France demanded a new treaty. On refusal, Hanoi and some delta towns were captured. Hué, the capital was also taken. By the treaties of 1883 and 1884, the French protectorate was declared over Annam.

China still exercised some influence in Annam. The Chinese agreed to approve the 1883 and 1884 treaties if nominal Chinese sovereignty was recognized. In 1885, a treaty was signed in Tientsin which recognized the French-Annamese treaties.

The Indochinese Union came into being in 1887. It comprised of an administrative system which consisted of the colony of Cochin-China, the protectorates of Annam, Tongking, Cambodia and Laos, and the special territory of Kuang-chou-wan. Laos became a part of the Union in 1893 and Kuang-chou-wan was added in 1898 when the Chinese leased it to the French. The Governor-General was the sole link between the Union and France. He controlled the civil services. The Resident-Generals in Tongking, Annam, and Cambodia, the Lieutenant-Governor in Cochin China and the military authorities were all under the Governor-General. In 1928 a *Grand Conseil des Affaires Economiques et Financieres* was created to replace the former *Conseil de Gouvernement* which was established in 1914. After 1931, the new organization

had an equal number of Indochinese and French members and the Governor-General was obliged to consult it on budgetary matters. Cochin China had a Colonial Council of 24 members (50 per cent French). It elected a deputy to the French Assembly. Tongking had a Protectorate Council. In Annam there was a Ministerial Council and also a Chamber of Representatives. A French Resident stayed in Hué to 'advise' the Emperor. All these administrations were characterized by a separation of powers and by their purely economic and advisory character; all political discussion was forbidden.

The Franco-German armistice signed in June 1940 left French Indochina unprotected. Under Japanese pressure, the French authorities in Indochina stopped, on 20 June 1940, the transportation of supplies to China via the Haiphong railway, and Japan was authorized to station certain units in Tongking and was given the use of Haiphong harbour. The Vichy Government in January and May 1941 gave Japan a monopoly of the colony's rice and rubber output and other financial concessions. Under Japanese pressure, the French ceded certain Cambodian and Laotian provinces to Thailand.

2 *Political Developments since 1945*

In March 1945, the Japanese proclaimed the independence of the Indochinese States of Laos, Cambodia and Annam and Emperor Bao Dai was reinstated in Annam. Cochin China was joined to Tongking and Annam in August and the new State was christened Vietnam.

After the surrender of Japan, the political vacuum in the country was filled by the local committees of the *Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi* which was founded by Ho Chi Minh in 1941 and had been sporadically fighting the Japanese. The country was partitioned at the 16th parallel, the Chinese occupying the northern part, while the British occupied the South Vietnam. The Viet Minh had infiltrated deep into the South before the British reached Saigon in September 1945.

On 26 August, Bao Dai abdicated, and on 2 September, the independence of the country was declared in the name of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam led by Ho Chi Minh. On

6 January 1946, the newly elected Constituent National Assembly met, the composition of which was as follows: 10 Marxists, 27 Socialists, 27 Democrats, 22 Dong Minh Hoi, 26 Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dong, 82 Independents, Anti-Fascists (Progressive), and 90 Nationalists.

On 6 March 1946, a preliminary Franco-Vietnamese Convention was signed in Paris according to which the Vietnamese Republic led by Ho Chi Minh was recognized as a 'free state, having its Government, its Parliament, its army and its finances'. The Vietnam Republic on its part agreed to welcome 'in a friendly manner', French forces being sent to replace Chinese troops. But, thereafter, the French began to procrastinate. There were prolonged negotiations for the transfer of power, but no action was taken by the French Government. Fighting between France and the Vietnam Republic started after the first major clash of 19 December 1946, at Hanoi.

Bao Dai, who had for some time acted as Supreme Adviser to the Ho Chi Minh administration and had gone to China on a certain mission in March 1946, did not return. On 15 September of the next year, he addressed a message to the people of Vietnam that he was willing to get in touch with the French authorities. This was followed by talks between him and the French High Commissioner. After long-drawn negotiations, an agreement was signed by Bao Dai in Paris on 8 March 1949 by which the French installed Bao Dai as the head of an alternative Government of Vietnam. This agreement did not grant full freedom to Vietnam. In the sphere of foreign policy and defence, Vietnam had to submit to the control of the French Union. The fight between France and the Ho Chi Minh regime continued.

3. *Constitutional Framework*

NORTH VIETNAM. The Democratic Republican regime under Dr. Ho Chi Minh is subject to the Constitution adopted by the National Constituent Assembly on 8 November 1946. The People's Parliament elected for a three-year term by universal adult franchise is the highest organ of State

power. It elects the President and the Vice-President. The President selects the Prime Minister. When not in session, the work of the Parliament is carried on by the Permanent Committee of the Parliament. The Constitution guarantees to both men and women equally the rights of property, freedom of speech, assembly, movement etc.

S O U T H V I E T N A M. When in 1949, Emperor Bao Dai once again became Chief of the State, he promised to the people that they would have the right to choose the government they liked. Continuing political instability, however, did not permit the holding of general elections and he has ruled through ordinances and decrees. He has appointed the various presidents of the Council of Ministers as well as the Ministers who have carried on the government in his name.

4. *Foreign Relations*

On 20 January 1950 the new Government of China recognised the Ho Chi Minh regime and was followed by the Soviet Union on 31 January. The United States Government, in turn, recognised the Bao Dai administration on 7 February 1950 and 37 allies of the United States followed suit. The war in Indochina was no longer a fight between Ho Chi Minh on the one hand and Bao Dai and the French on the other; henceforth, it acquired great international significance, the United States considering it more and more to be one of the fronts against international communism. A military aid agreement between the United States, France, and the three Associated States was signed in Saigon on 24 December 1950. Gradually, the quantum of aid-equipment from both China and the U.S.A. mounted and the severity of the fighting increased till the dramatic victory of the Viet Minh forces at Dienbienphu.

On 28 November 1953, a Stockholm paper, *Expressen*, published an interview with Dr. Ho Chi Minh who was reported to have expressed his willingness to discuss peace with France. On 22 February 1954, Premier Nehru called for a cease-fire in Indochina. Earlier, on 18 February, the Berlin

Conference participants announced that the United States, France, the Soviet Union, China and some other interested countries would discuss the problems of restoring peace in Korea and Indochina at Geneva. The Indochina Session of the Geneva Conference opened on 8 May. On 2 May, the Colombo Conference of five South Asian Prime Ministers made a plea for immediate cease-fire in Indochina. The Premiers recommended direct negotiations between France, the three Associated States of Indochina, the Viet Minh and other parties invited by agreement.

On 21 July, three cease-fire agreements for Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia were signed at Geneva. Viet Minh and French forces were to be grouped North and South respectively of the 17th parallel in Vietnam. Laos and Cambodia were to be totally vacated by the Viet Minh troops. The regimes of Ho Chi Minh and Bao Dai would administer the North and the South Zones respectively. The cease-fire line between North and South Viet Nam has been declared not to constitute a political or territorial boundary. The nine nations participating at Geneva issued a 13-article declaration which took note of the cease-fire agreements and expressed the hope that the three Indochinese states would be fully independent and sovereign in the international field. It also noted that free elections would take place in Cambodia and Laos in 1955. The declaration stated that free elections were to be held in Vietnam in July 1956. Freedom of residence in either zones was permitted and political reprisals were prohibited. France was to withdraw troops from these States at the request of their governments, whose sovereignty and territorial integrity it would respect. It was also laid down that no foreign troops would be introduced in Vietnam, and Laos and Cambodia would not ask for foreign aid except as defined in the agreements. No foreign military bases were to be established in Vietnam, and Laos and Cambodia would not join any foreign alliances. The Geneva Agreements nominated India as Chairman of the International Supervisory Commissions for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; other members of the Commissions were Poland and Canada.

In South Vietnam there was a prolonged tussle between Premier Ngo Dinh Diem and the Army Chief of Staff, General

Nguyen Van Hinh. The latter was dismissed by Emperor Bao Dai late in November.

While the United States has extended generous help to the evacuees from North Vietnam, the Government of Ho Chi Minh arrived at an agreement with China late in December about receiving advisers, technicians and equipment for developing and re-orienting North Vietnam's communications system. On 29 December 1954, France and the Associated States of Indochina—Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam—signed agreements granting full financial and economic independence to the latter. The new agreements replace the 1950 agreements signed in Pau, France. On 8 September 1954, at the initiative of the United States a South-East Asian Defence Organization was established. Although Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam are not its members, it has included these countries in the area covered by this treaty.¹

5 *Economic Resources of the Indochinese States*

Minerals of a wide variety are found in Tongking, the most important being anthracite coal of high quality. Upper Tongking and North Laos have rich deposits of tin, zinc, tungsten, iron and manganese, but excepting coal, few of these were tapped till 1939. Forests cover 76,570,000 acres of Indochinese land and produce tropical hardwood and teak. Rubber plantations in 1952 produced 61,420 metric tons. Five-sixths of the cultivated area is used for growing rice. In 1951-52, the rice crop totalled 5,700,000 tons. Other crops are maize, sugarcane, cotton, tobacco, tea, coffee, peanuts and beans. There is no large-scale industry in the country, although there are several rice, sugar, textile, paper, sawing and cement mills.

1. See Appendix VII.

TABLE I

Value of Foreign Trade
(Million Piastres)

	1948	1952	1953	1954 Jan.-April
Exports	1,172	2,404	2,766	1,019
Imports	2,360	9,232	11,150	3,798

TABLE II

Main Trading Partners
(Percentages)

<i>Exports</i>	1950	1953	1954 Jan/ April	<i>Imports</i>	1950	1953	1954 Jan/ April
France	43	21	15	France	76	79	76
Malaya	8	15	8	China	3	2	3
U.S.A.	19	16	20	Japan	1	2	3
Hongkong	11	9	4	U.S.A.	6	4	7
Japan	1	4	23	Indonesia	2	3	3
Indonesia	—	5	—				

TABLE III

Main Commodities Traded
(Percentages)

Exports	1954			Imports	1954		
	1950	1953	Jan.- April		1950	1953	Jan.- April
Rice & products	33	38	53	A g r i c u l t u r a l			
Maize ..	2	2	2	products a n d			
Rubber ..	36	38	30	foodstuffs ..	22	24	23
Bed feathers ..	5	1	—	Mineral pro-			
Pepper ..	2	2	—	ducts ..	4	5	5
Coal ..	3	6	6	Textiles ..	28	26	24
Crude hides ..	2	1	—	Metals & manu-			
				factures (in-			
				cluding vehi-			
				cles) ..	26	26	26
				Other products	19	19	22

(*Quarterly Economic Review of Continental Southeast Asia*, September, 1954, London.)

SOUTH ASIA

CEYLON

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

CEYLON is a pear-shaped island situated between latitudes $5^{\circ}55'$ and $9^{\circ}50'$ N and longitudes $79^{\circ}42'$ and $81^{\circ}53'$ E. It is separated from the Indian sub-continent by a narrow strip of shallow sea, the Palk Strait. Other near neighbours of Ceylon are the Maldive islands to the West and the Andamans and Nicobar islands to the North-East respectively.

The island has a compact land area except for the Mannar island in the North-West, the Jaffna peninsula in the North and its satellite islands, the largest of which are the Kayt and Delft. The greatest length from North to South is 270 miles and the greatest breadth, from West to East, 140 miles. The total area is 25,332 square miles. In 1953 its population was 8,098,637.

The annual average rainfall varies from below 40 inches in the driest zones in the North-West and South-East of the island to over 200 inches at certain places on the south-western slopes of the hills. The hot season generally extends from March to May and the cool season, roughly from November to February.

Relations between India and Ceylon go back to ancient times. The Indian epic, the *Ramayana* is woven round a war between a mythical Indian prince and a prince of Ceylon. The inscriptions of Emperor Asoka (second half of the 3rd century B.C.) mention a religious mission to Ceylon which introduced Buddhism in Ceylon. Both the princes and merchants of South India had numerous and continuous contacts with Ceylon in the medieval and early modern times.

From the sixteenth to the middle of the twentieth century, Ceylon has been a colony of one European Power or the other. The Portuguese were the first to arrive and were

attracted to Ceylon mainly by her cinnamon. By 1505, they had conquered the coastal plains and succeeded in securing control of her cinnamon trade. Envious of the Portuguese fortunes derived from Ceylon, the Dutch East India Company launched a twenty-year campaign (1638-58) against them and subsequently ousted them. British troops landed at Trincomalee in August 1795 primarily to protect the Island from falling into the hands of the French. With the passing of Holland into the Napoleonic Empire during 1795-1798 the British supplanted the Dutch in Ceylon. In 1802, under the Treaty of Amiens, Ceylon became a Crown colony. The Kandyan Kingdom was annexed in 1815. It was during the British regime in the latter half of the 19th century that a large number of indentured labourers from South India was brought to work on the tea, coffee and rubber plantations. In 1954 the descendants of these migrants and the Indian petty merchants numbered nearly 800,000 or 10 per cent of the total population.

For a century after the British annexation, the Maritime Provinces were remarkably peaceful. But Kandy was more difficult to pacify. There was a serious rebellion in 1818 and several minor disturbances between 1820 and 1858. With the growth of the tea industry, which began in the 'nineties, a middle class began to develop. From this class came the demand for increased Ceylonese representation in the Legislative Council which was established in 1833 following the Colebrooke Reports of 1831 and 1832.

Various patriotic societies came into existence early in the 20th century and in 1910 their petition produced the first substantial change in the Constitution since 1833. In 1919 several nationalist organizations formed the Ceylon National Congress. The Reforms of 1920 and 1924 expanded the representative element in the Legislative Council. In 1931 the Donoughmore Constitution established adult franchise and in 1946 the Soulbury Constitution set up a parliamentary form of government without making Ceylon a Dominion. As a result of persistent agitation, however, the British agreed to Ceylon becoming a Dominion in the Commonwealth. Effect was given to this change through the Ceylon Independence Act, 1947, which came into force on 4 February 1948.

In the 1947 elections the United National Party, to which all the retiring Ministers under the Donoughmore Constitution had belonged, emerged as the ruling party and Mr. D. S. Senanayake became the first Prime Minister of Ceylon. In the elections to the House of Representatives in May 1952, the various parties were returned to the House as follows: Government Parties: United National Party, 54; Independents, 11; Tamil Congress, 4; Labour, 1. Opposition Parties: Sri Lanka Freedom Party, 9; Republican, 1; Lanka Sama Samaj Party (Trotskyite Communists), 9; Communist, 3; Federalist, 2; and Revolutionary Sama Samaj, 1. During 1953, the Republican member joined the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. A United Communist Front was formed by the members of the Communist, the Lanka Sama Samaj and the Revolutionary Sama Samaj Parties. Mr. Dudley Senanayake became Prime Minister on 22 March 1952, but owing to ill health resigned in October 1953 and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Sir John Kotelawala. This change of Prime Ministers was preceded by a period of some anxiety. A 'hartal' (stoppage of work and trade) organized by the Opposition Party as a protest against an increase in the price of rice was marred by a series of disturbances, but order was quickly restored.

2. *Constitutional Framework*

Ceylon, at present, possesses a government after the British pattern. The fundamental law embodying the Constitution is the Ceylon Independence Act, 1947, and a number of Orders-in-Council. The Government of Ceylon is carried on by the Governor-General on the advice of a Council of Ministers collectively responsible to Parliament. Not less than two Ministers, one of whom should be the Minister of Justice, must come from the Senate. The number of Ministers is not fixed and in the present Cabinet, including the Prime Minister, there are fourteen ministers.

The Parliament of Ceylon consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate has 30 members; half are selected by the Governor-General and half by the House of Representatives. The Senators hold their office for six

years, one-third retiring after every two years. The House of Representatives consists of 101 members, 95 of whom are elected and six nominated. The House is elected on a wide franchise; every adult citizen being entitled to the vote. The representation has been so arranged as to enable every community and interest to have its voice heard in Parliament. The duration of the life of the House of Representatives is five years. The Senate has no power over Money Bills; even over other Bills, it has only a suspensary veto.

The Judicial System consists of the Supreme Court, District Courts, Magistrate's Courts, Courts of Requests and Rural Courts. The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and eight Puisne Justices. From 4 February 1948, appointments, transfers and dismissal and disciplinary control of Judicial personnel has vested in the Judicial Service Commission.

For administrative purposes, Ceylon is divided into nine provinces, namely: Western, Southern, Central, North-Central, North-Western, Northern, Eastern, the Province of Sabaragamuwa and the Province of Uva. The provinces, with the exception of the province of Uva, are further sub-divided into revenue districts of which there are now twenty in all under Government Agents and Assistant Government Agents appointed by the Central Government

3. *Foreign Relations*

Under the External Affairs Agreement of 1948, Ceylon joined the system of consultation which prevails among the Commonwealth countries. Ceylon has attended all the Commonwealth Conferences. It was at the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers held at Colombo in January 1950 that the 'Colombo Plan' for the co-operative development of South and South-east Asia was conceived. Under the Defence Agreement of 1947 with the U.K., Ceylon has agreed to grant military and naval bases in exchange for military assistance. Ceylon's application for membership of the United Nations was vetoed by the Soviet Union. In June 1950 Ceylon participated in the Technical Assistance Conference held in

Washington and was the first country in the East to enter into an agreement with the United States to receive such assistance.

Ceylon has been anxious to maintain friendly relations with her neighbouring countries. The dispute with India on the future of the Indian community in Ceylon reached a satisfactory stage in the new agreement signed on 18 January 1954 in New Delhi. The Prime Minister of Ceylon visited New Delhi to reach a mutually agreed decision on this matter. On 6 January 1950, Ceylon recognised the People's Republic of China and in May 1951 concluded a Rubber-Rice trade pact with her. It was at the initiative of Ceylon that the Conference of South East Asian Prime Ministers was held in Colombo in April-May 1954. She also joined the Bogor Conference of December 1954.

Ceylon attended the Delhi Conference on Indonesia and the San Francisco Conference on the Japanese Peace Treaty. She did not attend the Manila Conference of September 1954 and has not joined the SEADO.

4. *Economic Resources*

Agriculture forms the mainstay of the island's economy. The three main agricultural industries, tea, rubber and cocoanut, account for 95 per cent of her exports.

Of a total land area of 16½ million acres, 3½ are cultivated; of this, tea, rubber, cocoanut and rice account for 3 million acres. Main crop acreages for 1952-53 were: tea, 572,008; rubber, 657,427; cocoanut, 1,070,942 and paddy 1,048,228.

The net output of factory production according to the 1952 census amounted to Rs. 226 million, contributing 5 per cent of the gross national income of Rs. 4,619 million for the year 1951.

The chief mineral industry is the mining of graphite (plumbago). In the peak year of production (1942), 277,000 tons were exported. Other mineral resources include: rare earths of the Thorium and Uranium group, the heavy sands of Ilmenite, Monazite, and Zircon, iron ores (deposits esti-

mated at 6 million tons), kaolin, quartz sand, limestone, magnesite, peat and building stones. Annual production of precious and semi-precious stones is estimated at Rs. 2 million. Production of electricity in 1952 was 118.56 million kwh. and in 1953, 144.36 million kwh.

In 1953, tea, rubber and cocoanut accounted for 96.6 per cent of total domestic exports as against 96 per cent in 1952. Tea contributed 55.5 per cent as compared with 51.3 per cent during 1952. Rubber earned Rs. 34.2 million less in 1953.

INDIA

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

INDIA, also known as Bharat, is the middle of the three irregularly formed peninsulas that jut out from the mainland of South Asia, the other two being Arabia and Malaya. Welded to the central rim of Asia by the Himalayas, the country stretches southwards and, at the Tropic of Cancer, tapers off into Cape Comorin in the Indian Ocean. The Indian Republic lies between latitudes 8° and 37° N. and longitudes $66^{\circ}20'$ to 97° E. and measures about 2,000 miles from North to South and about 1,700 miles separate the western-most point from the eastern borders. The majestic Himalayan ranges form India's northern boundary along which lie Tibet, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal. A series of mountain ranges in the East separate India and Burma. In the North-East, forming an enclave between the States of West Bengal and Assam, lies East Pakistan. On the north-west Indian border are West Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union.

The country comprises four well-defined regions, (i) the Terai region along the southern Himalayan range, (ii) the Indo-Gangetic Plain, (iii) the Rajputana Desert and (iv) the southern plateau and coastal plains of the Deccan.

There is a great variety of rainfall and temperature over this sub-continent. India's total area is 1,269,640 square miles. The population in 1951 was estimated at 361,800,000, excluding French India, which has since been merged in the Union. Since 1941 the population has increased by over 45 million or, on the average, at 1.5 per cent per year and the present mean density of population is over 312 per square mile.

India, like Egypt, China and Iran, is a land of ancient civilization. Ancient India's contribution to the world is rich

in the cultural field. To China, Japan and other Buddhist lands, India was known as the land where Buddha was born; to the Arabs it was the land of Philosophy and Mathematics.¹ As the seat of prosperous communities, the Indian plains had trade relations with Ancient Mesopotamia, Greece and Rome; and their riches have, since the dawn of history, attracted invaders from central Asia and beyond. Many of these made India their home and built up vast states: the first of these were the Aryan tribes in the 2nd millenium before Christ, and the last, the Mughals in the 16th century A.D. In the following century came the Portuguese, French and British traders. By 1818, the British had established their supremacy over the entire continent and by the end of the century had even added Burma to their Indian Empire. In 1858, following a widespread military revolt, the British Crown took over the governance of the country from the East India Company.

The Indian independence movement is closely linked with the fortunes of the Indian National Congress (founded in 1885) and Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948). The liberal leaders, before the entry of Gandhiji on the Indian political scene, had won some constitutional reforms in 1909. Since 1893, Gandhiji, living in the Indian community of Natal, was evolving a novel political technique. This was *Saty-agraha* (the assertion of Truth), commonly miscalled, passive resistance. It consisted in a peaceful, demonstrative, defiance of authority and laws. Those who participated in these demonstrations, instead of attempting to escape the legal penalty, eagerly courted it. The purpose being, (1) to demonstrate to the authorities the strength of popular resentment or demand through the large number of people who cheerfully accepted the legal penalties, and (2) to inculcate among the people a sense of discipline and fellow-feeling which disregarded personal inconvenience or sacrifices. Instead of denouncing the opponent, the demonstrators were content to court suffering to impress upon their rulers the wrongness of the latter's policy. The emphasis, all the time, was on non-violence, both to avoid bitterness as well as habits of lawlessness.

1. The Arabs call Arithmetic, *Ilm-i-Hindisat*, the Indian Science.

Gandhiji returned to India in 1915. The post-war reforms of 1919 did not satisfy Indian political opinion. Gandhiji now set out to expand the basis of the Indian National Congress from an urban, middle-class, intellectual group to a mass-organization deriving ever-increasing support from the Indian peasantry. His new *Satyagraha* technique of non-resistant, non-cooperation was invoked on three major occasions, in 1921, 1930 and 1942. Through the *Swadeshi* (Buy Indian Products) movement, he trained the city-dwellers, and through no-rent campaigns, the peasantry for the *Satyagraha* technique. On 31 December 1929, the Congress adopted a resolution demanding full independence in place of Dominion Status promised to them in 1917, and was not swerved from this goal either by the 1935 reforms or by the 1942 Cripps offer. On 8 August 1942, in its famous 'Quit India' resolution, the Congress decided to launch the third and, as it proved, the last mass-movement to force the British to withdraw from India. The British Government was, with some difficulty, able to foil this attempt for the duration of war. In the post-war elections of July 1945, however, the Conservative leader, Mr. Churchill, lost to the Labour leader, Mr. Attlee, and in the following March the Labour Government sent three ministers to India to negotiate with the Indian leaders. An important development in Indian politics had taken place in March 1940; it was the decision of the Muslim League to demand the separation of Muslim majority areas from the rest of India and their constitution into a separate state to be called Pakistan. The Cabinet Mission tried to evolve a compromise between the Muslim League and the National Congress but failed. The Interim Government of the Congress and the League, set up under the Cabinet Mission plan, also began to show dangerous trends. Accordingly, between February and June 1947 the British Government and the National Congress accepted the partition of India into two separate states and Pakistan was inaugurated on 14 and India on 15 August 1947.

Mahatma Gandhi, the chief architect of Indian independence, refused to accept any political office and at the time of the independence festivities was engaged in keeping the peace in West Bengal between the Hindus and the Muslims.

He came to Delhi in September and was busy till January 1948 in pacifying the extremely agitated and hard-hit refugees from West Punjab. He had just succeeded in restoring normalcy among them when he was assassinated by a fanatic Maratha Brahmin on 30 January 1948. Thus India's noblest son died, as he had lived, in the cause of peace.

2. *Constitutional Framework*

Under the Cabinet Mission plan, a Constituent Assembly had been set up on 9 December 1946 to draw up a new constitution for British India. After the transfer of power in August under the Indian Independence Act of July 1947, this body acted in a double capacity. In addition to its work of drafting a republican constitution for India, it also functioned as the Central legislature of the Dominion of India till the inauguration of the Republic on 26 January 1950. During the negotiations for Indian independence the British Government had not agreed to transfer its Paramountcy over the Indian Princely States either to India or to Pakistan. However, by 15 August, excepting Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagadh, all the Princes had acceded to one Dominion or the other, in the matter of defence, foreign relations and communications. Kashmir acceded on 26 October 1947, Junagadh on 24 February 1948 and Hyderabad on 7 September 1948. Most of the smaller states were persuaded to merge with the Indian provinces, a few of them were joined together to form new States-Unions as in Saurashtra and Rajasthan. The States-Unions, as well as the States of Hyderabad and Mysore, the only States to remain unaffected by merger, were persuaded to join the Union in the same integral way as the Provinces had done. Largely owing to the dispute regarding the accession of Kashmir, its relations with India remain limited to the original three subjects.

The Constitution of the Republic of India was finalized by the Constituent Assembly on 26 November 1949 and came into force two months later. The Constitution declares certain fundamental rights which are justiciable and some Directive Principles of State Policy which are not justiciable. The

Central government is headed by the President, elected for five years by the elected members of the Central and State legislatures. He acts on the advice of a Council of Ministers responsible to the lower chamber, the *Lok Sabha*, of the Parliament. As the guardian of the Constitution of India, the Supreme Court stands at the apex of the judicial organization. The residuary powers belong to the Centre which can take up the administration of any State in case of emergency. In the field of concurrent jurisdiction, Union laws take precedence over State laws. The Parliament of the Union is bicameral. The *Rajya Sabha*, the upper house, is elected by the State Assemblies and the *Lok Sabha*, the lower house, is directly elected by universal adult franchise. It has 489 directly elected members and 9 nominated members from certain areas.

The Heads of State¹ Governments are appointed by the President and are advised by Councils of Ministers responsible to elected legislatures. Only in 7 states are the legislatures bicameral. Each of the Parts 'A' and 'B' States has a High Court. While Parts 'A' and 'B' States legislatures enjoy complete financial autonomy and very large powers in other fields, in Part 'C' States the legislatures have only very limited powers. The Part 'D' territory of the Andamans has no legislature.

Between October 1951 and May 1952 elections were held throughout India on the basis of universal adult franchise. There were 2.3 million ballot boxes used in 224,000 booths which were supervised by a government staff numbering 560,000; the total governmental expenditure on elections amounted to Rs. 100 million. The electorate numbered 176 million and was scattered over 3,293 constituencies. Some statistics are reproduced below to indicate the political balance of power among the major groups in the lower Houses of Parliament and State Assemblies.

1. The Constitution groups the Indian territory in four parts; part 'A' consists of the major former British provinces; part 'B' of the major former Princely States and States-Unions; part 'C' of all the other units excepting the Andamans and Nicobar Islands which constitute part 'D'.

	Seats	Candidates	Votes polled (million)	% of votes
PARLIAMENT	489	1,844	105.9	—
Congress	362	472	47.5	44.8
Socialist	12	251	11.1	10.5
Kisan Mazdoor	77	146	6.1	5.8
Communist & allies	23	44	4.7	4.4
Jana Sangha	3	91	3.2	3.0
Scheduled Castes	2	34	2.5	2.3
Rama Rajya	3	62	2.0	1.9
Independents	41	509	16.8	15.9
STATE ASSEMBLIES	3,280	15,573	103.8	
Congress	2,247	3,274	43.9	42.3
Socialist	125	1,824	10.0	9.7
Communist & allies	147	541	5.4	5.2
Kisan Mazdoor	77	1,005	5.2	5.1
Jana Sangha	33	742	2.9	2.8
Scheduled Castes	12	241	1.8	1.7
Rama Rajya	32	342	1.2	1.2
Independents	326	5,971	21.9	21.7

3. *Foreign Relations*

Even before independence, Indian leaders had developed clearly defined attitudes to some of the important questions in international affairs. For instance, there was a strong feeling in favour of the League of Nations in India, although it was not the initiative of Indian political leaders that had made India an original member of the League of Nations. In the post-war period, the dismemberment of the Caliphate in Turkey, the Japanese annexation of Manchuria, the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, the Civil War in Spain and the German dismemberment of Czechoslovakia had aroused strong protests. There was also a strong feeling of sympathy with the Soviet,

Chinese, Irish and Egyptian leaders in their nationalist aspirations, whether economic or political. It was natural that Indian leaders should be sympathetic to the political aspirations of all the colonial peoples, whether in Asia or Africa. When the control of Indian foreign policy passed into Indian hands in 1947, the reactions of Pandit Nehru's Government and of the Indian National Congress were inevitably conditioned by this background of attitudes and sentiments. In spite of their preoccupation with grave problems, both political and economic, at home, or with the difficulties of their brethren in Ceylon and South Africa and in spite of the many unsavoury disputes with Pakistan that the partition of the country had bequeathed to them, the Indian Government were not oblivious of the many important issues on the international stage. This was shown by the interest taken by Indian delegates in the various organizations of the United Nations.

The first major decision in external relations was taken—and it surprised even the British public—when, in spite of the long, hard fight with the British in the previous 30 years, the Indian leaders decided to continue the membership of the Commonwealth of Nations headed by the British Monarch. This was in April 1949. The next notable incident which startled the chancelleries of the world was when in January 1950 India invited fifteen countries to discuss the grave situation in Indonesia when the Dutch started their second military action. Both the White House and the Whitehall were greatly disturbed at this sudden Indian initiative; the Kremlin was also upset but for an altogether different reason. At the Conference, Pandit Nehru took special care to explain that the Delhi Conference was not convened 'in a spirit of hostility to any nation or group of any nations', it was meeting because the participants were convinced that a wrong had been done and must be righted. The purpose of the Conference was to focus the public opinion of the world on this wrong and to bring to bear upon it the moral pressure of world opinion. The third incident of a similar nature was when on 17 November 1952 the Indian delegation introduced a resolution in the U.N. General Assembly on the complicated question of exchange of the Korean war prisoners. The significance of this development was not only that it helped to

establish a cease-fire in Korea, but that it revealed the utility of India's much misunderstood refusal to commit itself to any side in the Cold War. This non-commitment has enabled India to act with great success, particularly as an intermediary between China and the non-communist countries.

These three incidents help to illustrate the basic features of Indian relations with foreign powers. She decided to join the Commonwelath because it did not commit her to any political, economic or military stand; she decided to stress the question of Indonesian independence because she wished to pool all the available moral weight in favour of the freedom movement of a Colonial people; she moved in the matter of the Korean cease-fire because she felt that following the Korean stalemate dangerous pressures were being generated, both in the United States and China, which had to be countered by international accord. Most of her actions on the international stage can be explained in terms of one or other of these three considerations.

India is friendly to the United Kingdom and the United States and although she has received considerable aid, economic and technical, from both, she is not committed to either. She is also friendly with the Soviet Union and China; that, however, does not prevent her from dealing severely with attempts at violence, whenever the Communists resort to violence. Her relations with Pakistan have fluctuated between the strained and the friendly. She did not attend the San Francisco Conference on the Japanese Peace Treaty in September 1951 and concluded a separate peace treaty with her in June 1952. Pandit Nehru attended the Colombo Conference of South Asian Premiers in April-May last and, thereafter, Mr. Krishna Menon did vigorous lobbying at Geneva to bring about a cease-fire in Indochina in July 1954. India did not attend the Manila Conference in the following September and has not joined the SEADO. This was not only because of her aversion to all military pacts as such but also because the Indian Government feels that the SEADO cannot diminish the East Asian tensions; it is more likely to increase them. It is not a conclusion that can be drawn from the communiqué of the Bogor Conference, but it is certainly an earnest desire of many sections in several countries, that,

like the earlier Delhi and Colombo conferences, the collective opinion of the Asian-African conference should succeed in resolving the tension that is again mounting in the East.

4. *Economic Resources and Foreign Trade*

India is an agricultural country with over 360 million acres available for cultivation. Agriculture provides a livelihood to 70 per cent of her people and accounts for nearly 48 per cent of the national income. India enjoys a virtual monopoly in lac and leads the world in the production of groundnuts and tea. It is the second largest producer of rice, jute, tobacco and cotton. It is estimated that since 1949-50 there has been a 6 per cent increase in the acreage devoted to all food grains. The total area under food grains in 1953-54 was 261 million acres, of which 9 million acres were added during 1954.

India is rich in several minerals. Her reserves of coal and iron are estimated to be about 20,000 million tons of coal and 10,000 million tons of good quality iron ore. The total production of coal in 1953 was 36,442 million tons. The annual production of pig iron and steel now exceeds four million tons. Except the U.S.S.R. none of the other great industrial countries in the world possesses manganese deposits as large as India's; the reserve of high-grade ore is about 15 to 20 million tons and lower-grade deposits are three times as much. About 80 per cent of the world's supply of dress mica blocks, condensers and splittings is supplied by India. Other important minerals include bauxite, magnesite, gypsum, chromite, lead, corundum, and rutile.

Indian industry is fairly well developed and diversified. Her 500 cotton textile mills have an annual capacity of 4,800 million yards of cloth and 1,688 million lbs. of yarn.

India's water-power potential is roughly estimated at 30 million kw. The installed capacity of both thermal and hydro power plants in January 1953 was 20,61,755 kw. In the previous year 6,120 million kwh. were produced giving a mean *per capita* consumption of 13.83 kw.

India's first Five-Year Plan provides for the execution of 173 projects which will irrigate an additional 16.94 million

acres of land and produce an additional 1.5 million kw. of electric power. The total expenditure envisaged in the Five-Year Plan on multi-purpose river schemes, transport, community development and social services is expected to amount to Rs. 20,690 million.

India's national income was computed at Rs. 9,530 crores in 1950-51, the corresponding figure for 1949-50 was Rs. 9,010 crores. The *per capita* income at current prices works out at Rs. 265.2 for 1950-51, and Rs. 253.9 for 1949-50.

TABLE I

Five-Year Plan, 1951-56
(in million rupees)

	<i>Total Outlay during 1951-56</i>
Agriculture and community development	3,610
Irrigation	1,680
Multi-purpose irrigation and power projects	2,660
Power	1,270
Transport and communications	4,970
Industry	1,730
Social services	3,400
Rehabilitation	850
Miscellaneous	520
Total	20,690 ¹

1. In October 1953 this total was raised by 1,750 million rupees for certain additional specific schemes. The annual outlay in the last three years was Rs. 2,615.2 million in 1951-52; Rs. 3,226.3 million in 1952-53 and Rs. 4,130 million in 1953-54.

TABLE II
Directions of Foreign Trade
(crores of rupees)¹

<i>Exports</i>		1951	1952	1953
	Total	763.1	592.5	524.3
U.K.	..	194.8	125.7	147.5
U.S.A.	..	136.4	116.5	94.2
Japan	..	17.5	25.3	25.9
Argentina	..	20.4	4.5	20.9
Burma	..	18.8	23.5	20.3
Ceylon	..	18.2	19.9	17.6
Australia	..	45.1	23.4	16.0
Canada	..	17.2	12.7	13.9
West Germany	..	9.2	12.5	10.3
Singapore	..	23.7	15.1	9.3
Aden	..	7.6	9.0	8.7
Nigeria	..	6.7	6.6	8.0
Netherlands	..	9.5	10.3	6.3
Italy	..	13.7	10.4	5.4
France	..	12.7	6.0	5.3
Belgium	..	9.8	6.5	5.3
<i>Imports</i>		1951	1952	1953
	Total	769.0	735.1	544.1
U.K.	..	154.2	149.3	140.6
U.S.A.	..	207.0	273.9	90.6
West Germany	..	26.0	24.5	28.8
Australia	..	17.9	15.1	26.6
Egypt	..	44.1	20.1	21.7
Italy	..	22.6	11.6	21.0
Canada	..	25.3	26.7	18.9
Burma	..	23.6	31.1	18.2
Bahrein Islands	..	9.3	17.3	17.6
Kenya	..	19.9	19.7	16.1
Singapore	..	19.6	13.8	14.6
Saudi Arabia	..	6.5	15.8	13.4
Japan	..	12.4	13.7	10.5
Netherlands	..	9.3	12.6	10.9
Switzerland	..	10.1	8.0	8.1
Sweden	..	14.6	3.5	8.3
Belgium	..	8.9	7.6	7.2

1. One crore equals 10 million.

TABLE III

Main Agricultural Products

		1951	1952	1953
Rice	(000 tons)	20,295	20,741	23,424
Wheat	"	6,374	6,039	6,762
Other Cereals	"	15,117	15,660	17,398
Gram	"	3,593	3,293	3,771
Groundnuts	"	3,437	3,045	2,894
Sugar	"	5,616	6,068	5,260
Cotton	(000 bales of 392 lbs. each)	2,971	3,133	3,050
Jute	(000 bales of 400 lbs. each)	4,678	4,695	— *
Oilseeds	(000 tons)	1,666	1,775	1,741
Tobacco	"	263	205	205
Tea	(million lbs.)	625	620	— *
Coffee	(000 cwts.)	372	425	— *

* Figures not yet available.

NEPAL

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

THE KINGDOM of Nepal lies along the southern slopes of the central Himalayas between latitudes $26^{\circ}.20'-30^{\circ}.15'N$ and longitudes $80^{\circ}.5'-88^{\circ}.15'E$. Its average breadth is about 100 miles and it covers a total area of 54,000 square miles. It is bordered on the North by Tibet and on the West, South and East by Indian territory.

Nepal's three geographical zones are, (i) the broad belt of plain and low foothills known as the Terai and the Duns, (ii) the foothills proper of the Himalayas, rising to some 10,000 feet and containing the fertile, upper valley of Kathmandu, and (iii) the high mountain zone, mostly over 15,000 feet along the Nepal-Tibet border. Everest and Kanchenjunga, both over 28,000 feet, are situated close to this area.

The rains last from June to October, and are followed by the cold season from mid-October to mid-April. May and June are the hot months. The annual rainfall averages 60 inches.

The total population, according to the 1941 Census, was 6,282,000. A U.N. unofficial estimate recorded 7,000,000 in 1952 and the interim Census of December 1954 estimates it at 8,596,000.

The capital of Nepal is Kathmandu.

The early history of the many small kingdoms in Nepal is confused and partly legendary. It was in 1769 that Prithvi Narayan, the Rajput Prince of the Gurkhas, conquered Kathmandu and established the present dynasty. During the period of expansion and wars (1796-1816), the monarchy was weakened and came to depend more and more on the Prime Ministers who provided a stabilizing influence during the reign of several minors. Bim Sen Thapa, first of these Prime

Ministers, held office from 1806-1837 under three Kings. In 1846, Prime Minister Jung Bahadur was given absolute civil and military authority, overriding even that of the members of the Royal family. These powers became hereditary in the Rana family of Jung Bahadur, who was given the title of Maharaja, the King's title being Maharajadhirajah (King of Kings).

In 1814, the Gurkha movements along the southern border brought Nepal into conflict with the British East India Company. The British General Ochterlony advanced towards the capital and peace was restored by the Agreement of Sangli signed on 2 December 1815. The British established a protective sphere of influence over Nepal and enlisted the Gurkhas regularly in the Indian Army. Since then, British-Nepali relations have always been friendly. On 21 December 1923 a fresh Anglo-Nepali Treaty of Perpetual Friendship was signed at Kathmandu. In 1934, the United Kingdom and Nepal entered into full diplomatic relations.

Members of the Rana family held the Prime Minister's office from 1846 to 1951. A gradual policy of internal reform was undertaken. Remnants of slavery were finally removed in 1924.

The achievement of independence by India in 1947, also influenced the political growth of Nepal. On 13 April 1948, Maharaja Sir Mohun Shamsher Rana promulgated the Government of Nepal Act. The Act set up a Central Legislature consisting of two Houses with limited powers. The legislature was formally inaugurated on 22 September 1950. Between 1948-50, laws were also enacted which introduced the freedom of person, expression and association. These measures released political forces which frightened the Rana family. King Tribhuvan of Nepal was opposed to their attempts to reverse the liberalization. The conflict that arose between the King and the Government of Nepal in November 1950 was peacefully settled only under the diplomatic pressure of the Government of India. On 8 January 1951, measures of far-reaching constitutional reforms were announced, including the convening of a Constituent Assembly elected freely on the basis of adult franchise. An interim Cabinet consisting of 10 members, 5 of whom belonged to the Nepalese Congress Party

—the main force behind the movement for democratic reform—was installed. In this Government, Maharaja Mohun Shamsheer Rana retained his position as Prime Minister till 13 November when an agitation led by Nepalese students forced him to resign. A new Government was formed under the Nepal Congress leader, M. P. Koirala. This new Government, which consisted of 12 members, 8 of whom belonged to the Congress Party, came to an end on 10 August 1952 when the Premier resigned owing to a dispute with his brother, B. P. Koirala, who wanted a reconstituted Cabinet to include several of his own nominees.

On 6 July 1952, the King inaugurated an Advisory Assembly of 61 members which was to function till the formation of the Constituent Assembly. With the resignation of M.P. Koirala, the King, assisted by five nominated advisers, took over the government on 15 August 1952. The regime of advisers lasted till 15 June 1953, when Mr. M. P. Koirala again became the Prime Minister. This Cabinet was re-formed on 18 February 1954 and included leaders of four political parties, viz. the Rashtriya Praja Party led by the Prime Minister, the Nepali National Congress, the Nepali Praja Parishad and the Nepali Congress. The membership of the Advisory Assembly was increased to 112 by King Tribhuvan.

2. *Constitutional Framework*

The Government of Nepal is carried on by the King and the Cabinet. Pending the enactment of a constitution by a Constituent Assembly, an Advisory Assembly of 112 assists the administration in legislative matters.

The Advisory Assembly, as composed in February 1954, consists of 45 members of the National Democratic Party led by Prime Minister M. P. Koirala; 12 members of the Praja Parishad led by Mr. Tanka Prasad, Home Minister; 1 member of the Jan Congress led by Bhadrakali Mishra, Communications Minister; 11 members of the Nepali Congress led by B. P. Koirala and 2 members of the Terai Congress. The Nepali Congress, on 23 May 1954, decided to boycott the Assembly.

Important changes in the interim government of Nepal were made by the Royal Proclamation of 13 February 1953, and three legal enactments were published. They refer to the powers of the High Court, the King's relations with his ministers and the rules for the interpretation of laws.

For administrative purposes, the country is divided into 4 provinces and 40 districts, each with its own council. Justice is administered by provincial and district courts. The High Court, at Kathmandu, consists of a Chairman and four Judges.

During the absence of King Tribhuvan due to ill-health—he is at present in Switzerland—his functions are performed by a Council of State composed of royal princes.

3. *Foreign Relations*

The cessation of British control over Indian affairs on 15 August 1947, rendered the 1923 Treaty of Kathmandu unsuitable for future relations between Nepal, India and the United Kingdom.

On 31 July 1950, Nepal and India concluded a Treaty of Peace and Friendship and another of Trade and Commerce, at Kathmandu. The Treaty of Trade and Commerce is to remain in force for 10 years in the first instance. The Treaty of Peace and Friendship, which is to remain in force until terminated by either party, provides *inter alia* that both signatories 'acknowledge and respect the complete sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of each other', and gives Nepal facilities for free import through India or from India, of arms and equipment for the Nepal armed forces.

On 30 October 1950, a Treaty of Perpetual Peace and Friendship was signed between the Government of U.K. and Nepal. The treaty is to remain in force indefinitely, though termination is possible at one year's notice by either party. The future of the Gurkha regiments of the Indian Army was dealt with by signing, on 9 November 1947, a tripartite memorandum of agreement between the three governments concerned. On 14 July 1953, the Government of Nepal announced an agreement with the British government enabling the latter

to recruit Gurkha soldiers for the British army in Malaya for five years.

In September 1949, Nepal's application for membership of the United Nations was vetoed by the U.S.S.R. in the Security Council. However, Nepal is a full-fledged member of the UNESCO, FAO, WHO and an associate member of the ECAFE.

In March 1952, Nepal accepted the membership of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan. In addition to technical aid under the FAO and the Colombo Plan, Nepal has also received technical assistance from India, Switzerland and the United States.

4. *Economic Resources*

Agriculture and forestry are the main sources of the country's wealth. Total acreage under cultivation is approximately 7.7 million, of which nearly half is under rice. The principal crops are rice, sugar, jute, wheat and other food grains. The chief agricultural exports are jute, linseed, potatoes, cardamoms, clarified butter, cattle and hides and skins.

Forests cover 75 per cent of the country. Timber, the main export varieties of which are *sal* and *sisu*, is one of the country's richest resources. At least half of the Himalayan timber belt lies in Nepal.

The possible mineral resources of the country have not yet been tapped but exploration work is going on and it is believed that coal, mica and copper would be available.

There are several rice, flour and oil mills, all at Biratnagar near the Indian border. Other industries in 1953 comprised a jute mill in operation and another under construction, a cotton textile mill, a sugar factory, a plywood and bobbin factory, a cigarette factory and a match factory at Birganj.

Three hydro-electric power stations are in operation, two within the Kathmandu Valley and one at Morang. A fourth, on the Trisuli river, is under consideration by the Colombo Plan technical authorities.

Nepal's trade is largely with India and, to a small extent, with other countries through India. Exports include forest products, food grains (especially rice), oilseeds, raw jute, hessian cloth etc. The imports are mainly consumer goods, viz. cotton textiles, sugar, salt, petrol and kerosene, matches and metals, and include only small amounts of capital goods. For the 9-month period ending 31 December 1952, when the figures for the trade between India and Nepal were published for the first time, Nepal had a total export trade of Rs. (Nep.) 58.6 million and a total import trade of Rs. (Nep.) 32.2 million.

PAKISTAN

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

PAKISTAN consists of two geographical parts—East and West. East Pakistan lies between parallels 88° and $92^{\circ}30'E$ and latitudes $20^{\circ}45'$ and $26^{\circ}30'N$, while West Pakistan lies between parallels 61° and $75^{\circ}E$ and latitudes 24° and $37^{\circ}N$. Situated to the north-west and north-east of India, these two units lie separated by nearly 1,000 miles. West Pakistan has common frontiers with Afghanistan, Iran and India, and East Pakistan with Burma and India. Karachi is the seat of the Federal Government and is situated in West Pakistan.

Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Provinces are mountainous regions, but the rest of West Pakistan is formed of the alluvial Indus plain. Similarly, except for an insignificant extension of the Lushai Hills, East Pakistan consists of the alluvial Brahmaputra plain. Both parts of Pakistan have outlets to the sea. The River Indus, with its four tributaries, the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi and the Sutlej, flows down through West Pakistan, while the Ganges and the Brahmaputra flow through East Pakistan. West Pakistan has a dry, bright climate and is subject to extremes of temperature. Annual rainfall in West Pakistan by Provinces is: Sind, 32 inches; Punjab, 10-15 inches; N.W.F.P., 7 inches. East Pakistan has a sub-tropical climate from March to October. Rainfall is 70 inches in the West and 400 inches in the East.

The area of Pakistan is 364,737 square miles, made up of 310,236 square miles in West Pakistan and 54,501 square miles in East Pakistan. The total population is 75,842,000, out of which 42,063,000 live in East Pakistan.

It was in March 1940 that the All-India Muslim League, at its meeting at Lahore, adopted a resolution demand-

ing the partition of British India into two separate states. Pakistan was the name given to the state to be constituted of the Muslim majority areas in North-West and North-East India. The British Government's announcement of 3 June 1947 accepted the demand for the partition of India and on 14 August 1947 full power was transferred to the Dominion of Pakistan as provided in the Indian Independence Act of July 1947. Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah became the first Governor General of Pakistan and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan headed a Muslim League ministry. Mr. Jinnah died in September 1948 and was succeeded by Khwaja Nazimuddin. When in October 1951, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated at Peshawar, Khwaja Nazimuddin stepped down from the office of the Governor General and assumed the office of the Prime Minister. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, the Finance Minister in the Nazimuddin Cabinet, became the Governor General. Following serious disturbances in the Punjab in 1953 and a serious food shortage in April 1953, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed dismissed the Nazimuddin ministry and called on Mr. Mohd. Ali to head a new ministry.

The work of making the new Constitution has been held up all these years by differences between the West Pakistan and East Pakistan politicians. Both Mr. Liaquat Ali and Mr. Mohd. Ali had tried hard to reconcile the conflicting demands of the two parts of Pakistan. When the East Bengal elections of March 1954 indicated a complete rout of the Muslim League candidates, a grave political crisis rapidly came to a head. In the confused political situation, on 24 October the Governor General declared a state of emergency, dissolved the Constituent Assembly and asked Mr. Mohd. Ali to reconstitute his cabinet on non-party lines.

2. *Constitutional Framework*

Since the transfer of power, Pakistan has been governed by the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, as modified by the Indian Independence Act, 1947, and the Pakistan (Provisional Constitution) Order, 1947. Changes introduced in 1947 in the political structure of 1935 are, broadly,

(i) making the Pakistan Constituent Assembly the sole legislative authority for the Dominion, (ii) abolishing the special and discretionary powers of the Governor General, and (iii) ending the supervisory and legislative functions of the British Parliament. With these vital changes, the form of Pakistan's government has continued more or less unchanged during the last seven and a half years.

The Federal Government of the Dominion of Pakistan consists of the Governor General, and the Council of Ministers. Till its dissolution, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan had acted as the Dominion Legislature.

The Dominion consists of, (i) the Governor's Provinces normally governed by a Cabinet of Ministers responsible to an elected Legislative Assembly; (ii) the States, namely, Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Kalat, Makran, Kharan and Las Bela, autonomous in their affairs with the exception of defence, foreign relations and communications which have been delegated to the Centre; (iii) Baluchistan governed by an Agent of the Governor General, with the aid of local nominated advisers; (iv) tribal territories, relations with which are maintained through the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province acting as the Agent of the Governor General, and (v) Karachi, the federal capital, governed by an administrator responsible to the Minister of the Interior of the Pakistan Government.

The Judiciary consists of the Federal Court of Pakistan with original, appellate and advisory functions. Provinces have their High Courts. The Judges are appointed by the Governor General.

In the Provinces, the administrative machinery remains identical with that of pre-partition India. Local self-government continues under district boards and municipalities. The government of the States remains generally autocratic.

3. *Foreign Relations*

Pakistan is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations and has participated in all the Commonwealth Conferences and the Colombo Plan of Economic Development. However, when Britain devalued her currency in September 1949,

while Pakistan continued to be a member of the Sterling Area, she was the only member which did not devalue her currency. While this decision secured her some advantage in the period of the Korean War boom, lately it has had rather serious effects on her external trade. Following the partition, a number of disputes had developed between India and Pakistan, the most serious being the conflict in Kashmir. The United Nations were able to secure a cease-fire in Kashmir, though the main dispute with India is still unresolved. The visit of the Pakistan Governor General to New Delhi last January has raised strong hopes of an early resolution of the differences between the two countries.

Between September 1947 and October 1953, like many Asian members of the United Nations, Pakistan was a member of the Arab-Asian group in the General Assembly and had refrained from taking sides in the U.S.-U.S.S.R. quarrel. But growing economic difficulties and internal strains gradually persuaded her to join the Western powers. In May 1954, Pakistan agreed to receive military aid under the Mutual Security Assistance Act of the United States.

Pakistan has taken an active interest in promoting friendly relations with other Muslim and Arab States. In January 1949 she readily joined the Delhi Conference on Indonesia in protesting against the Dutch 'Police Action' and demanding recognition of Indonesian independence. In December the same year she convened a Conference of Islamic countries to discuss economic relations. She has taken a continuing interest in the political aspirations of North African Muslims.

Pakistan recognized the New Government of China following the establishment of the People's Republic in October 1949 and for some time supported the plea that the United Nations should also recognize the Mao Government. But lately there is a change in her attitude to China, as indicated in September 1954 when Pakistan joined the South East Asian Defence Organization.

In April and December 1954 Pakistan participated in the conferences of five South Asian Premiers held at Colombo and Bogor. She is one of the sponsors of the Asian-African Conference.

4. *Economic Resources*

Pakistan is predominantly an agricultural country. About 80 per cent of the population depend on agriculture. The total area under cultivation is about 54 million acres, out of which 23 million acres are irrigated by one of the best canal irrigation systems in the world. Pakistan produces 75 per cent of the world's jute, 6 per cent of its cotton and 12 per cent of its rice. The principal food crops are rice and wheat and the principal cash crops, jute, cotton, sugarcane and tea. Area under cultivation in the case of rice, wheat and coarse food grains in 1953-54 was 43,720,000 acres and 6,453,000 in the case of sugarcane, cotton and jute.

Industrially, Pakistan is underdeveloped. Out of her annual steel requirements of 260,000 tons, 200,000 tons are imported. Her cement production satisfies only about two-thirds of her total requirements. Only five jute mills were in production last year, five more are expected to come into operation this year, raising the total production capacity to 6,000 looms producing 180,000 tons of hessian annually.

Pakistan had an installed electrical capacity of 71,458 K.w. available at the time of partition which has now risen to 1,71,911 K.w.

Implementation of two multi-purpose projects is in progress, namely, the Warsack project with an installed capacity of 1,500,000 K.w. and the Karnaphuli project of 160,000 K.w. Three hydro-electric projects under construction are Chichoki-Malian, Gujranwal and Shadiwal, each with an installed capacity of 12,000 K.w.

Many minerals have been found in Pakistan but are not yet worked, mining being confined to coal, gypsum, Fuller's earth, salt, steatite, chrome ore and petroleum. Workable resources in coal amount to 165 million tons but the seams are of poor quality. Pakistan's coal production in 1953 was only 577,000 million tons. Rock salt is mined to the extent of 6,000,000 maunds a year, half of which is the exportable surplus. The 1953 production of crude petroleum was 61 million gallons and of chromite 23,000 tons. Natural gas is also found in Baluchistan and a plant is being built at Sui,

which is expected to supply gas with caloric-value equivalent to 5,000,000—1,500,000 tons of coal per year.

TABLE I
Foreign Trade
(Million rupees)

Year July/June	Exports	Imports	Balance
1947-48	703.4	296.4	+ 407.0
1948-49	1,862.0	1,286.2	+ 575.8
1949-50	1,186.6	1,148.6	+ 38.0
1950-51	2,548.9	1,450.0	+1,098.9
1951-52	2,006.9	1,984.9	+ 22.0
1952-53	1,461.9	958.5	+ 503.4
1953-54	1,256.4	761.2	+ 495.2

TABLE II
Pakistan's Exports to Principal Countries
(Million rupees)

Countries	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54
Australia	55.2	10.7	14.0	24.0
Belgium	86.0	62.0	63.9	59.5
China	89.1	251.1	109.1	86.7
Czechoslovakia	18.4	21.6	3.2	4.1
France	170.0	172.4	78.6	95.4
Germany	138.2	107.1	106.4	94.0
Hong Kong	124.5	56.3	48.4	55.0
India	556.3	375.7	144.8	1.7
Italy	153.5	131.2	79.5	76.9
Japan	333.8	219.4	279.5	177.8
U.K.	322.0	259.8	227.1	244.6
U.S.A.	160.8	52.6	100.6	74.9

(C.S.O. Bulletin No. 7/54. Quoted by the *Economic Observer, Annual*, 1954.)

WEST ASIA

AFGHANISTAN

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

AFGHANISTAN is bounded on the North by Russian Turkestan, on the West by Iran and on the East and South by Pakistan. The Hindu Kush mountains, rising at places to 24,000 feet, take off from the Pamir plateau, sprawl across central Afghanistan in a series of broken ridges and deep ravines and gradually slope in a north-easterly direction. The climate is marked by strong-blowing hot winds in the summer and snow-blizzards during the winter. The valleys and the plains are watered by small rivers and are very fertile. The total area of Afghanistan is 250,000 square miles and the population is estimated to be between 11 and 12 million.

Situated as the country is, across the cross-roads of Asia over which the central Asian and other peoples have moved during the course of the ages, Afghanistan has been repeatedly overrun and has seen the rise and fall of many alien rulers and empires. The Aryans, Persians, Greeks, Mauryans, Scythians, Huns, Arabs, Turks and the Mughals have ruled over it from time to time.

It was not till the 18th century that an Afghan chief, Ahmad Shah Abdali, built up an Afghan state which extended from the Caspian sea in the West to deep in the Punjab to the East. But this was a short-lived splendour. In the 19th century, the British in India and the Czars of Russia continually pressed upon its shrunken frontiers. In a way, the Anglo-Russian rivalry was a blessing in disguise, for the Afghan Kings, in spite of losing the three wars of 1838, 1842 and 1878 to the British, were spared the humiliation of seeing their dominion pass under the British. Much territory was lost to the British, but both the Russians and the British pre-

ferred to keep Afghanistan as a buffer between their respective empires.

The reign of King Amanullah (1919-29) attracted some attention in foreign countries. But the social and political reform proposals of the King aroused all the latent feudal and religious opposition and, in January 1929, the King abdicated and fled the country. He was succeeded after a short time by General Nadir Shah, father of the present King Zahir Shah.

2. *Constitutional Framework*

In 1930, King Nadir Shah granted a written constitution to his people. This was later amended in 1937 and 1938. Under these provisions, the Afghan King has become a constitutional ruler. In the legislative sphere, the King is advised by a bi-cameral Parliament. The Senate consists of 50 members nominated for life and the House of Representatives, of 171 members elected for a 3-year term. In the executive field, the King acts through a Cabinet of Ministers, headed by a Prime Minister, responsible to both the Houses. The two Houses have equal powers except in money bills which originate in the lower house. Amendments to the Constitution can be effected only in the 'Loya Jirgah' which meets irregularly and comprises the King, the Ministers, members of Parliament and other persons specially elected to this body. This body also considers the more important and grave matters which might arise from time to time.

3. *Foreign Relations*

Afghanistan joined the League of Nations in 1934 and the United Nations in 1945. It was neutral in the second World War. In 1937 it had joined Turkey, Iraq and Iran in a mutual defensive arrangement concluded at Saadabad. Since 1947, its relations with India are very cordial; in 1950 the two countries concluded a treaty of mutual friendship. It has received considerable economic and technical aid from

the U.S.A. and the United Nations. For completing the Helmand River project it has received considerable credits from the Export and Import Bank. Certain cotton ginning mills are being erected with the help of West German loans.

However, its relations with Pakistan have not been very smooth. A conflict has developed over the 'Pakhtoon' movement. Since 1947, Afghanistan has been questioning the validity of the Durand line (1893) frontier with Pakistan. About 5 million Pakhtoos (Pushtu speaking people) are found on the east side, in Pakistani territory. The Afghan Government has claimed that this linguistic group should be given regional autonomy and should have the option of joining Afghanistan, if it so decides. It is in the background of this dispute that Afghanistan has expressed great concern at (1) U.S. Military Aid to Pakistan, and (2) the proposal to integrate the various states and regions of West Pakistan into a single federal unit of Pakistan.

4. *Economic Resources*

Although largely mountainous and dry, the plains and valleys of Afghanistan raise a rich crop of wheat and numerous varieties of fruit. The castor oil, madder and asafoetida plants are found in abundance. In 1951, 11,000 metric tons of cotton were raised, of which 4,000 tons were exported to the Soviet Union. In 1953, surplus wheat was exported to Persia, Pakistan and the Soviet Union. Fifty per cent of the land under cultivation is irrigated; 75 per cent is used to raise food crops. A large quantity of wool is gathered from sheep for use in the indigenous carpet industry. The Helmand River project, expected to be completed in 1956 at a cost of \$ 80 million, aims to provide irrigation and electric power in the Girishk Farah and Chakansung Yakachal districts. Deposits of copper, lead, iron, coal and oil are found but are not yet worked. Some precious stones, particularly lapis lazuli, are exported to India and Pakistan.

Afghanistan is a land-locked country. A good deal of its foreign trade (80%) passes through Pakistan. Fruits, car-

pets, lambskins, cotton and wool form the major part of her exports.

The following volume of trade was done through Karachi:

	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Exports</i>
	(Pak. Rs. 00,000)	
1952 (Jan.-June)	451.45	552.0
1953 (Jan.-June)	392.10	423.0

The following table is indicative of Afghanistan's trade with a few countries:

	<i>Imports</i>		
	1950	1951	1952
U.K. (£)	132,807	230,143	416,539
U.S.A. (\$)	3,783,358	5,388,486	4,280,435
Iran (Rials)	7,781,000	2,341,000	1,884,000
India (Rs.)	39,749,674	31,485,643	33,494,434

	<i>Exports</i>		
	1950	1951	1952
U.K. (£)	103,112	215,388	315,458
U.S.A. (\$)	20,815,765	23,353,650	14,853,523
Iran (Rials)	3,764,000	3,113,000	6,660,000
India (Rs.)	14,420,984	10,846,583	7,555,965

IRAN

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

IRANIAN boundaries are defined on the North by the Caspian Sea and the U.S.S.R., on the South by the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, on the East by the U.S.S.R., Afghanistan and Pakistan and on the West by Turkey and Iraq. The Caspian Sea area with 40 to 60 inches rainfall is the most fertile. The Persian Gulf area is hot and humid and the rainfall varies from 3 to 10 inches. The Central Plateau is forbidding to men but has some fine forests. Here the rainfall is between 5 to 10 inches. Hot and relatively low lands to the south-east of Teheran are subject to extremes of climate. The Karon is the only navigable river of Iran. The area of Iran is 628,000 square miles and in 1952 its population was estimated at 19,798,000.

Iran has a history and a culture going back to nearly 2,000 B.C. In classical times, the battles between the city-state of Athens and the Iranian emperors loomed large till the 4th century B.C., when Alexander the Great of Macedon conquered the country. In the 3rd century A.D. the rise of the Sassanian emperors saw the decline of the Hellenistic culture and a revival of the ancient fire-worship of Zoroastrianism. In the 7th century, Iran was absorbed in the Islamic Arab empire. The Arabs were succeeded by the Turk and Mongol invaders. In the 16th century the Iranians established their independence from foreign conquerors under Ismail, the founder of the Safavid dynasty which lasted till 1721, when the revolt of the Afghans brought its sway to an end. Under Ismail, the association of the state power of Iran with the Shii' sect, perpetuated the schism between the Sunni and Shii' Muslims. The last of the old dynasties—the Qajars—

came to power about 1800 and lasted till 1925, when Riza Shah Pehlvi captured the throne.

During the course of the 19th century some valuable territory was lost to Russia under the treaties of Gulistan, 1813, and Turkmanchai, 1828. In 1906, the mounting pressure of protest against maladministration and the demand for a liberal constitution, forced Sultan Muzzaffar Shah to grant a constitution in 1906. In 1921, riding on the crest of widespread post-war discontent, Riza Khan Pehlvi staged a *coup d'etat* and assumed control over the army. In October 1925, he succeeded in deposing Ahmad Shah, the last ruler of the Qajar dynasty, and with popular support himself became the King. The Majlis or the Parliament gradually became dormant and remained inactive till the ascent of his son to the throne in 1942. In August 1953, after a sharp tussle with Prime Minister Dr. Moussadegh, the Shah was successful in removing him and appointed General Zahedi as the Prime Minister.

In World War II, Iran was neutral at first, but after the forcible entry of the Soviet and British troops declared war on Germany in September 1943, following the Treaty of alliance with the U.S.S.R. and the U.K. in January 1942. At the end of the war the British and the American forces were withdrawn, but the Soviet troops were withdrawn only in May 1946, after Iran had complained to the United Nations Security Council in March that year. It would appear that the Soviet policy of putting pressure on the Iranian Government to secure oil concessions through delaying the withdrawal of their troops and by encouraging the separatist movement in Azerbaijan met with singular failure.

2. *Constitutional Framework*

Iran is governed as a constitutional monarchy established since August 1906 by a royal proclamation. The legislature consists of two houses, the Senate consisting of 30 elected and 30 nominated members and the House of Representatives; but till 1950, the Senate was never convened. The House of Deputies consists of 136 members elected for two years by direct adult manhood franchise. The Shah (Emperor)

appoints the Prime Minister who holds office during the time that he enjoys the confidence of the Majlis, which wields full legislative powers including, since 1949, the power to amend most parts of the Constitution by a two-thirds majority. Since 1949, the Tudeh (Communist) Party has been banned, following an attempt on the life of the Shah; since the coming of General Zahedi to power in 1953 its disbanding and dispersal has been pursued more vigorously.

3. *The Oil Dispute*

Before 1939 the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company held and exploited a long-term lease over a rich oil-bearing area. In 1943, a Dutch concern and in the next year two American companies applied for oil concessions. In September 1944 Soviet Russia also asked for an oil concession. For the duration of the war the Iranian Government postponed taking any decision. At the conclusion of the war, the delay in the withdrawal of Soviet forces from North Persia and their encouragement of a separatist movement in the Azerbaijan province of Persia was rightly interpreted by Iran and other powers as a move to compel the Persian Government to give an oil concession to Soviet Russia. The Iran Government protested to the Security Council, but without any obvious result. In April 1946, the Iranian Prime Minister Qavam as-Saltana agreed to give to Soviet Russia an oil concession and by May the Soviet troops were withdrawn. With some difficulty the Iranian Government succeeded in defeating the autonomy movements in Azerbaijan and among the Kurdish tribes. But in October the new National Assembly, elected in July, rejected the Soviet-Iranian oil concession and passed an act forbidding the grant of fresh oil concessions to foreign governments.

Meanwhile, the terms of the American agreement with Saudi Arabia and the British agreement with Iraq, offering a 50 per cent royalty to the country, had become known. When the A.I.O.C. offered to raise a little the royalty payments to Iran, the National Assembly rejected the offer outright in November 1950. Next April, the Majlis nationalized the

oil industry and the Moussadegh cabinet served notice on the A.I.O.C. terminating its concession. In October all the foreign employees of the Company were withdrawn, both from the oilfields and the Abadan refinery. Between May 1951 and August 1953, a great dispute raged between Iran and Great Britain, first on the validity of nationalization and later on the question of compensation for the unexpired period of the lease. The British references to the Security Council and the International Court at the Hague, the Stokes Mission sent to Persia by the British Government, the appeals by Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, and offers of U.S. financial aid availed nothing against the redoubtable Premier Moussadegh's insistence on the right of Iran to nationalize her oil. But Iran, lacking trained personnel, a tanker fleet and finances to extract and refine the oil, began to suffer from the loss of oil revenues and Dr. Moussadegh increasingly lost support at home. In August 1953, after military action the Shah replaced him with General Zahedi. The United States granted an emergency aid of \$45 million to the new regime and in December negotiations were resumed between the British and Iranian governments. First Mr. Herbert Hoover and later Mr. Averill Hariman helped the parties through the negotiations and on 5 August 1954, at last, an agreement was reached between the two governments. The A.I.O.C. was replaced by a *Consortium* of 8 oil companies including the A.I.O.C. with a 40 per cent share. The Consortium would compensate the A.I.O.C. for the balance of its 60 per cent share. The Consortium would carry on the work of producing, refining and marketing oil on behalf of the National Iranian Oil Company, to whom it would pay a royalty approximately equal to 50 per cent of the profits. The *Naft-i-Shah* field and the Kirmanshah refinery would be worked by the Iranian Company for home consumption. This agreement is to last for 25 years and is renewable.

Relations between Iran and Soviet Russia are described by the Iranian-Soviet Treaty of 1921 and the Tripartite Treaty of 1942 between the U.K., U.S.S.R. and Iran. The Soviets protested strongly against the establishment of a U.S. Military Mission in Iran in 1947 and the grant of military aid to Iran under the Mutual Security Act in 1952. In 1954, the United

States also promised substantial technical aid under the Point-four Programme.

4. *Economic Resources*

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people of Iran. It is estimated that of the total area only some 10-15 per cent is under cultivation, while a further 15 per cent is grazing land and 10-15 per cent forest. Iran has about 46 million acres of forest, not all of which is of economic value. The timber produced includes boxwood, oak, beech, maple and walnut.

Silk is produced in the Caspian provinces. The average production for the years 1934-46 was 1,700,000 kilograms, which made Persia the world's eighth largest producer.

Rich iron ore and coal are also found in Iran, but no concerted effort has been made to exploit them on a commercial basis.

Till the nationalization of the industry in April 1951, the Oil industry was the most important of Iranian industries. In 1909 the A.I.O.C. had taken over the D'Arcy concession of 1901 which gave the Company the right to exploit oil all over Persia, excepting the five northern Provinces. In 1912, production was started. By the 1933 agreement between the A.I.O.C. and the Iranian Government the Company increased the royalty payments and contracted the area of the concession to 100,000 square miles in South and Southwest Iran; the Iranian Government extended the concession to 1993. In 1950, 32.3 million tons of crude petroleum were produced in Iran, on which the Iranian Government received a royalty of £ 16 million. In April 1951, the Oil nationalization brought all production to a halt. It is estimated in the August 1954 settlement that during the following three years the Iranian oil production would total 68 million tons, on which, in the same period, Iran would receive a total of £ 150 million in royalty. The Abadan Refinery with an annual capacity of some 25 million tons is the largest in the world today.

TABLE I
Main Crops
(in 000 hectares and 000 metric tons)

	1950		1951		1952	
	Area	Output	Area	Output	Area	Output
Wheat	2,490	2,263	—	1,800	2,642	2,682
Barley	925	875	760	720	1,000	1,048
Rice	267	450	300	360	300	410
Sugar Beet	34	377	42	495	45	530
„ Raw	—	62	—	77	—	86
Raisins	—	45	—	49	—	—
Oranges	—	45	—	40	—	45
Dates	—	138	—	124	—	—
Cotton Seed	130	42	150	41	180	54
Tobacco	15	15	16	12	—	—
Cotton (lint)	130	28	150	27	180	36

TABLE II
Industrial Production

Industry	No. of factories	No. of Employees	Capital (million rials)	Installed H.P.
STATE OWNED				
Textiles	5	7,928	718	9,470
Sugar	9	4,912	609	7,194
Tobacco products	1	1,342	509	3,460
Chemicals	9	1,700	163	3,135
PRIVATELY OWNED				
Cotton Textiles	24	12,755	442	10,094
Woollen Textiles	8	5,523	246	9,685
Matches	26	4,474	21	125
A.I.O.C.		51,702	—	155,000
Caspian Fisheries		2,484	—	1,155
Mines		4,500 (approx.)	—	—
Electricity		620	60	18,500

TABLE III

Cotton Textile Equipment and Output (1949)

<i>Spindles</i>	<i>Output (Yarn)</i>	<i>Power Looms</i>	<i>Output</i>
224,000	12,000 tons	3,600	30,000,000 metres

TABLE IV

*Direction of Foreign Trade
(Percentage)*

	<i>Imports</i>		<i>Exports</i>	
	1938	1950	1938	1950
Belgium, France, Luxem- bourg, Netherlands ..	5.2	4.4	2.0	16.9
Britain ..	8.1	28.0	6.2	19.1
Rest of Europe	64.1	19.1	67.1	26.7
U.S.A.	8.6	25.5	8.2	11.1
West Asia	0.3	7.7	4.4	15.8
India, Ceylon, Pakistan ..	8.4	10.3	4.9	6.8
Others	5.3	4.4	6.4	3.6
Total actual value ¹ ..	750	6,150	619	3,494

1. in million rials.

IRAQ

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

I R A Q is surrounded by Turkey on the North, Syria and Jordan on the West, Saudi Arabia on the South, the Sheikhdom of Kuwait and a tiny portion of the Persian Gulf Coast on the South-east and Iran on the East. Her territory is composed of the Mesopotamian plain which forms the eastern part of the Fertile Crescent; the Uplands in the North corresponding with ancient Assyria, the Mountain belt in the North-East and the desert lands lying South-West of the Euphrates valley. In the plains the climate is extreme and rainfall scanty. The mountainous regions, however, possess a moderate climate, with rainfall upto 40 inches.

The original Mesopotamian and Assyrian inhabitants of Iraq mingled with the Arabs when the latter conquered them in the seventh century A.D. Modern Iraq contains a number of Muslim and Christian sects including the Shii's, the Sunnis, the Nestorians and the Chaldean Christians.

Iraq's total area is 171,000 square miles and in 1950 its population was 5,100,000.

Iraq was the home of ancient civilizations since the sixth millenium before Christ. Among them were the Sumerian, Chaldean and Assyrian. In the seventh century A.D. the Arabs conquered the country. In 750, the Abbasid dynasty of the Arab Empire, which ruled for nearly five hundred years, made Baghdad its capital. The city was sacked by the Mongol invaders in 1258 and in 1638 Iraq became part of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman rule lasted until the outbreak of the first World War. As soon as hostilities opened, the British landed their troops in Iraq. But they did not fulfil their promise to secure freedom for the country. Instead,

after the war, at the San Remo Conference (1920) the British secured mandatory powers over the country, although the Iraqis bitterly opposed it. The British Government invited Amir Feisal Ibn Husain, who was expelled from Syria by the French in 1920, to accept the throne of Iraq and the latter was enthroned on 23 August 1921. The British also forced through the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1922, by which in the face of hostile nationalist opinion Feisal recognized the mandatory's 'obligations towards the League of Nations'. Eight years later it was followed up by a Treaty of Alliance (1920) which provided for consultation between the parties in matters of foreign policy, mutual assistance in the event of war and lease of sites for air bases. In October 1932, Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations. Meanwhile the Nationalists began to demand a revision of the treaty. Supporters of the Kemalist-type regime engineered a military *coup d'état* in 1936 which, though short-lived, set into motion an unending series of factional intrigues and uprisings with the support of army leaders. The outbreak of the second World War was preceded by a serious outburst of anti-British sentiment which culminated in the unsuccessful Rashid Ali revolt in April 1941. With Rashid Ali's fall, the pro-German elements in Iraq's politics were considerably weakened and the territory became a solid bastion for Allied operations.

2. *Foreign Relations*

Iraq's treaty relations with Great Britain again attracted political attention in the post-war period. A new treaty between Great Britain and Iraq signed by Saleh Jabr, the Iraqi Prime Minister, at Portsmouth in January 1948, was subsequently rejected by the Iraqi Government under pressure of strong public opposition.

Apart from her peculiar relationship with Great Britain, Iraq has continually developed close relations with a number of West Asian countries. The Saadabad Pact of July 1937 to which Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Iraq subscribed, the Arab League Pact of 1945, the Treaty of Alliance with Jordan in 1946 and another Treaty of Friendship with Turkey in

1947 are some outstanding instances. Iraq's decision last February to enter into a military pact with Turkey has provoked a strong protest from Egypt. Iraq's endeavours to build up the Fertile Crescent—a union of Iraq, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, have been disapproved and resisted by Egypt and Saudi Arabia, as well as by Syria and Lebanon. In the Palestine dispute, Iraq supported the Arabs by sending her contingents to fight there and also by closing the Haifa oil-pipeline.

3. *Constitutional Framework*

Iraq is a constitutional monarchy. The present ruler is King Feisal II. The legislative authority is wielded by the King through Parliament. Parliament has two houses, the Senate consisting of members appointed by the King, and the Chamber of Deputies formed by elected representatives. The Cabinet is responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. Some of the principal political parties are Nuri Said's Constitutional Union Party, Saleh Jabr's Umma Socialist Party and Kamil Chadirji's National Democratic Party. Personalities command a large share in determining the strength of political parties.

4. *Economic Resources*

Iraq contains rich oil deposits. But she is poor in other natural resources. Some of the minerals found there include salt, gypsum, sulphur, potassium nitrate, sandstone, dolomite and low-grade coal.

The economy of Iraq is primarily based upon agriculture and animal husbandry. Nearly 80 per cent of Iraq's population directly or indirectly depends for its livelihood on agricultural pursuits. In foodstuffs she is not only self-sufficient but also exports some quantities to the neighbouring countries. But her industrial growth has been very slow. It began only late in the 'twenties. Recently, with the inflow of large funds in the form of oil royalties, the Government

has set up a Development Board (1950) to develop the economic resources of the country. It has been allocated 70 per cent of Iraq's oil revenues to execute its programme.

The oil industry in Iraq has been developed by foreign concerns during the last thirty years. Oil concessions are shared by British, American, French and some other interests. Of the total West Asian oil production of 104.44 million tons in 1952, Iraq's share amounted to 18.45 million tons. An agreement of 3 February 1952 guaranteed to the Government an income from oil royalties not less than £ 20 million per annum.

Iraq imports raw materials and manufactured goods from foreign countries. Besides oil, other items of her exports are barley, dates, hides, wool and oilseeds. In 1952 she exported commodities to the value of \$288 million and imported goods worth \$153 million.

JORDAN

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

THE HASHIMITE Kingdom of Jordan lies on either side of the River Jordan. To the East of the river is the former Amirate of Transjordan, to the West is that region of Central Palestine which was annexed after the Israel-Arab War (1948-1949). The combined territories, about 36,715 square miles, are bound on the North by the river Yermuke and Syria, on the East by Iraq, on the South by Saudi Arabia and on the West by Israel and the upper reaches of the River Jordan.

Few countries have experienced so sudden an expansion of their population as Jordan has. Since the Palestine conflict nearly a million refugees have come into Jordan, with the result that the population has increased from 400,000 in 1948 to 1,372,000 in 1952.

The rivers Jordan and Yermuke are two important sources of irrigation in Jordan, of which 30,700 square miles constitute desert area. The Jordanian highlands rise sharply to a maximum of over 5,000 feet forming an escarpment above the Jordan-Araba gorge. In the hill country, the climate follows a Mediterranean pattern, with warmer summers and cooler winters. There is less rainfall on the east bank than on the west, which, in either place, is rather small. The Jericho oasis is studded with orange groves.

A part of the Turkish empire since the 13th century, in 1922 Transjordan was constituted a semi-autonomous Arab principality under Amir Abdullah, under the British mandate over Palestine. In March 1946, it attained full independence under Abdullah. In 1948, Abdullah changed his title to 'King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan', which was internationally recognised in 1949. On 15 May 1948, Jordan joined

the war against Israel. Truce was signed on 3 April 1949. King Abdullah was assassinated on 20 July 1951, in Jerusalem. He was succeeded by his elder son, Talal, who ruled for about a year, but his mental health deteriorated and he was succeeded by his brother Hossain in August 1952.

2. *Governmental Structure*

Jordan is governed by a constitution which was adopted by King Talal in 1952. There is a Council of Ministers jointly responsible to the National Assembly. There are usually nine ministers in the Council. They are chosen by the Prime Minister but are not necessarily members of the legislature, which consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Senators are all appointed by the King and may not exceed one half of the number of members in the House of Representatives. The latter are 40 in number and are elected by direct manhood suffrage, 20 from the west bank and 20 from the east bank. The King has the power to dissolve the House of Representatives, and dismiss, appoint and accept the resignation of the Prime Minister. He is Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces but may not sign treaties except with the approval of the National Assembly.

Ministerial posts are always equally divided between the Jordanians and Palestinians. Tawfique Abdul Hoda, a Jordanian is the Prime Minister now.

3. *Foreign Relations*

King Abdullah signed in Amman a 20-year defence treaty with Britain on 15 March 1948. It provided for economic, cultural and financial aid by Britain as well as a guarantee for the training of an Arab contingent on British Army lines with the sole advice of Britain and officered by British officers. It also provided for the maintenance of strategic and communication air bases at Amman and Mafraq.

King Abdullah had become quite unpopular in his later days because of his leanings towards Britain. The terms of the treaty and the peculiar position of Britain in this strategic area lent colour to the Arab criticism that the politics of

Jordan was the exclusive preserve of the British foreign experts' underhand activities.

When the Arab League was organized in 1945, King Abdullah joined it immediately. But later his Palestine policy and his over-publicized proposal of a Hashimite 'Greater Syria' had caused great anxiety. It gave an affront to the Republic of Syria and threatened to upset the balance of power among the Arab states.

4. *Economic Resources*

The chief agricultural crops are wheat, barley, millet, maize, lentils, beans, peas, tobacco and sesame. In the hilly tracts mainly vines and olives are grown. The Bedouins possess about 41,000 camels, 81,000 cows, 266,000 sheep and 358,000 goats. There are nearly 2,192,000 acres available for cultivation out of which 71,000 acres, mostly in the Jordan valley, are irrigated.

The country is poor in other economic resources. The Dead Sea, about two-thirds of which belongs to Jordan and is exploited on a commercial scale by Israel and Jordan, contains vast quantities of mineral salts. Only potash and bromine have so far been extracted. There are also phosphate plants at Rosaifa. More deposits have been discovered at Hasa. There is neither coal nor iron. No oil has been found as yet in quantities large enough to justify commercial exploitation. Two petrol pipe-lines pass through the country from Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

Vegetables are Jordan's only steady export; cereals, phosphates and wool play an occasional part.

TABLE I
Foreign Trade

		(000 dinars)		
		1949	1950	1951
Imports	..	12,756	10,786	15,688
Exports	..	1,053	1,577	1,651

TABLE II

Value of Selected Imports

	(000 dinars)		
	1949	1950	1951
Cotton piece-goods	511	1,056	656
Animals ..	29	13	162
Motor cars ..	309	254	173
Coffee ..	285	367	221
Cement ..	465	340	498
Benzine ..	439	591	624

TABLE III

Value of Selected Exports

	(000 dinars)		
	1949	1950	1951
Wheat ..	203	271	nil
Barley ..	131	120	nil
Lentils ..	38	65	5
Vegetables ..	62	114	163
Skins & Hides ..	30	29	7
Wool ..	4	221	487

LEBANON

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

THE LONG rectangular belt of Lebanon stretching from Tyre to Tripoli is bound on the North and East by Syria, on the West by the Mediterranean and on her southern border lie Jordan and Israel. The total area is 3,400 square miles and in 1951 the population was estimated at 1,303,941. The climate is temperate and the rainfall is adequate. Mount Lebanon rises to a height of 10,000 feet. The Litani river rises near the Orontes and after flowing through Syria enters Lebanon through a deep gorge and joins the sea at a point between Tyre and Sidon.

Syria and Lebanon formed a part of the Turkish Empire since the 13th century. After the defeat of Turkey in the first World War, the French were given mandatory powers over Syria and adjoining territories in 1920 at the San Remo Conference. The Mandate consisted of several principalities. In 1925, Alawis, Jebel Druze, Damascus and Aleppo were combined into the state of Syria; Beirut, Sidon, Tripoli and Biqaa were constituted into the *Sanjak* of Lebanon; and Antioch and Alexandretta were set up as another *Sanjak* which in 1939 was ceded to Turkey. In 1925 serious nationalistic disturbances broke out and it was not till 1927 that the revolt was put down. Negotiations between the Mandatory power and the Syrian and Lebanese nationalists dragged on till the outbreak of the World War II. The fall of France in 1940 greatly weakened the French position. In 1942, when the British victory at El Alamain, in Egypt, had removed the threat of Nazi domination from these areas, the British Government supported the demand for popular elections and in 1943 the Republic of Lebanon was set up which was recognised by the French in 1945.

A notable feature of the current of domestic politics has been a struggle between the authoritarian advocates of union with Syria and their opponents. In September 1952, an attempted military *coup* by General Fuad Shihab against President Chaumon miscarried, as the former was not willing to override the legislature.

2. *Constitutional Framework*

The Lebanon Republic has a single chamber legislature. It was elected by direct manhood suffrage till 1952; in that year the franchise was extended to women. Till 1950 only the citizens resident in Lebanon had the franchise, but in that year it was extended to Lebanese abroad. The continued existence of Lebanon as a separate state depends upon the slim majority of Christians over Muslims in the country. The faster rate of growth of the Muslim sections was threatening this majority and hence this extension of the franchise to the Lebanese overseas. The number of the deputies was also increased from 55 to 77 in 1950 but in 1952 was reduced to 44.

3. *Foreign Relations*

Lebanon's attachment to the Western powers is not more cordial than that of any other Arab States. Lebanon has moved in step with other neighbouring Arab countries, with whom she has close economic and cultural ties. There is considerable economic rivalry with Syria. She supported Egypt in her fight against Britain over the Suez and she supported the case of the Palestinian Arabs. She has received arms from Britain and Point-Four aid from America.

Lebanon has close cultural associations with France. There are about a million Lebanese nationals in the U.S.A. and South America, who form a vital link in the friendship between Lebanon and the U.S.A.

4. *Economic Resources*

There is not enough arable land in Lebanon to produce

all the food grains that the country needs. Grapes, wheat, citrus and other fruits are the main agricultural products. Small quantities of cotton and tobacco are also grown. Grapes and wines form an important part of Lebanese exports. Relative to its size, the country is highly industrialized, employing about 50,000 persons. There are electric stations, sugar-factories, textile and oil mills.

The chief characteristic of the Lebanese economy is buying and selling rather than producing.

TABLE I

Main Crops

		<i>Area</i>		<i>Production</i>	
		(000 hectares)		(000 metric tons)	
		1951	1952	1951	1952
Wheat	..	61	70	43	50
Barley	..	15	20	14	27
Cotton	..	5	2	1	—
Fruits	..	—	—	75	90
Grapes	..	21	—	80	—

TABLE II

Selected Industries

Cotton Yarn	..	2,100 tons	(1951)
„ Fabric	..	4.9 m. sq. metres	(1950)
Silk & Rayon	..	7.0 „ „	(1949)
Electricity	..	130.0 m. Kwh.	(1951)
Cement	..	303,000 tons	(1951)
Sugar	..	3,100 tons	(1949)
Beer, Wines and Araaq		33,000 hectolitres	(1949)

TABLE III

Foreign Trade
(million Lebanese pounds)

	1950	1951	1952
Total Imports ..	326.4	320.4	346.8
Total Exports ..	90	97.2	78
Total Re-exports ..	—	8.2	19.4
Total Trade in Gold & Foreign Exchange	96.3	22.9	39.4

SAUDI ARABIA

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

THE KINGDOM of Saudi Arabia faces the Red Sea on its western coastline and the territories of Yemen, the Aden Protectorate, Muscat, Oman and the Trucial Sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf on its southern and south-eastern borders. Higher up, on the eastern side, it touches the Persian Gulf and the southern frontier of Kuwait, while on the northern and north-eastern sides it borders on Iraq and Jordan. Its area is 597,000 square miles.

The greater part of the Kingdom is desert. Topographically, it is a plateau sloping down from the mountainous South-west towards the North-east. The climate varies from intense heat and damp in the low-lying coastal regions to slightly cooler temperature on the highlands. The region is nearly rainless in summer and receives only scanty showers during winter.

The inhabitants of Saudi Arabia, estimated as numbering over 6 million, are the descendants of the ancient Semites who embraced Islam in the seventh century A.D. While 10 per cent of her present population may be classified as urban, the percentage of the settled rural population is not precisely known. It is, however, evident that a substantial number of the population leads a nomadic life.

It was in the 7th century A.D. that Arabia made its first impact on the world. Under the various dynasties of Caliphs, the Arabs had built up a vast empire in Western Asia and North Africa, before they passed under the ægis of the Turkish empire in the 13th century. The present Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was founded by the late King Ibn Saud, who started his career by conquering Nejd in 1921, proceeded to annex the Hejaz in 1926 and finally proclaimed himself the King of

Saudi Arabia in September 1932. Long before these conquests Ibn Saud had distinguished himself as a Wahabi leader and reformer by his persistent efforts to convert the Bedouins into a settled people and by preaching a return to the original purity of Islam.

Till very recently, the political importance of Saudi Arabia was due to her possession of the Holy Places of Islam. Lately, it has been considerably reinforced by the discovery of immense oil deposits beneath the burning desert of Arabia. This fresh development, which dates from the 'thirties of this century, has added to the scanty urban sector of the population a steadily growing army of oil-field workers. Riyadh is the capital of the country.

2. *Constitutional Framework*

Saudi Arabia is an absolute monarchy. The King retains executive authority in his own hands. In the past few decades, however, ministries and directorates dealing with several aspects of governmental activity have been set up. In the principal towns, like Mecca and Riyadh, there are municipal committees entrusted with the administration of local matters. The law of the land is the *Sharia* (primarily based on the *Koran*) and its administration is in the hands of a religious hierarchy.

3. *Foreign Relations*

In the international field, in recent years, Saudi Arabia has persistently supported a policy of cooperation with other Arab countries to ensure stability in that part of the world. She participated actively in the negotiations which preceded the conclusion of the Arab League Pact on 22 March 1945 and has firmly supported the Arabs in the Palestine dispute. At the same time, she has exhibited a marked interest in counter-acting all moves by the Hashimite Kingdoms of Jordan and Iraq to usher in 'Greater Syria'. With the United States, whose nationals enjoy exclusive oil concessions in the realm, Saudi Arabia's relations are specially close. The

Government of the United States was permitted to construct and air-field at Dharan in 1946 for her military and civilian use and under the Agreement of June 1951, the U.S. retains special rights to maintain and operate it. Yet, she has been opposed to any defensive pact of Arab states under non-Arab leadership. Last month she joined Egypt in its protest against the Turco-Iraqi Pact.

4. *Economic Resources*

Oil is the chief natural resource of Saudi Arabia. According to the statistics of 1952, her oilfields account for not less than 40 per cent of the total West Asian output. Her biggest oil reserves are situated in the Persian Gulf province of el-Hasa. Through the concessions acquired in 1933 and 1939, the ARAMCO enjoys the sole right to explore and exploit the oil deposits of the country. Drilling operations during 1952 revealed three more oil fields, raising the figure of total estimated reserves to 2,426.5 million metric tons. The annual production of crude petroleum has risen from 26,904,000 metric tons in 1953 to 41,566,000 metric tons in 1953. The production of the Saudi Arabian oilfields in 1953 amounted to 151 million barrels. Oil taxes and Royalties received by her Government have risen from 55 million dollars in 1947-48 to 198 million dollars in 1952-53. Hence the Government now depends for its expenditure neither on pilgrim taxes (which were abolished in 1952) nor upon foreign subsidies exclusively, as was the case up to the early forties of this century. In addition to oil, the mining of gold at Mahd ad-Dahab, between Mecca and Medina, has also been undertaken in collaboration with American and Canadian concerns. Besides oil, her exports consist of dates and Arab horses.

Agriculture is limited; raising livestock provides a livelihood to the nomadic population. Projects for the development of irrigation and fisheries are under way. Communications have greatly improved along with the expansion of the oil industry. The new railway line between Damman and Riyadh, new roads connecting Jedda, Mecca and Riyadh and the airlines connecting Dharan, Riyadh and Jedda are instances of this development.

SYRIA

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

SYRIA is bound on the North by Turkey, on the West by Lebanon and the Mediterranean, on the South by Jordan and Israel and on the South-East by Iraq.

The present area of Syria, excluding the vast desert, hinges on the deep curve of a fertile crescent—a horn-shaped fertile strip of land—stretching from the West of Iraq, passing over the two tributaries of the Euphrates in the south of Turkey and slanting downwards sharply at Aleppo and ending at Damascus.

Syria has wide climatic variations. The rain is almost nil in the desert but the mountains have as much as 40 inches per year. Aleppo has greater extremes than Damascus, but seasons, in all the areas, are quite well-marked.

Most of the land lies 700 feet above sea level. The total area is 66,046 square miles and in 1951 the population was estimated to be 3,329,137.

The cultivation of cotton and cereals is particularly successful in the north-eastern corner of Syria; here there has been great development during the last four or five years.

The Syrian desert is a vast barren strip of land: more than a third of the total area of Syria is either desert or steppe. The rivers Litani, Orontes, and the Euphrates with its tributaries the Khabour and the Balikh, provide water to Syria.

Syria and Lebanon formed a part of the Turkish empire since the 13th century. Following the defeat of Turkey in the first World War, the French were given mandatory powers over Syria and the adjoining territories in 1920, at the San Remo Conference. The mandate consisted of several principalities. In 1925, Alawis, Jebel Druze, Damascus and Aleppo

were combined into the state of Syria; Beirut, Sidon, Tripoli and Biqaa were constituted into the *Sanjak* of Lebanon, and Antioch and Alexandretta were set up as another *Sanjak* which, in 1939, was ceded to Turkey. In 1929, serious nationalistic disturbances broke out in Syria and it was not till 1927 that the revolt was put down. Negotiations between the Mandatory power and the Syrian and Lebanese nationalists dragged on till the outbreak of World War II. The fall of France, in 1940, greatly weakened the French position. In 1942, when the British victory at El Alamain, in Egypt, had removed the threat of Nazi domination from these areas, the British Government supported the demand for popular elections and in 1943 the National Bloc set up the Republic of Syria which was recognized by the French in 1945. Syria joined the Arab League in March 1945 and became an original member of the United Nations. In May 1945, a French Commander bombarded Damascus because of the refusal of the Syrian politicians to sign a treaty similar to the one between Iraq and Great Britain, demanding for France great economic and other advantages. The Security Council supported the Syrian case and on 15 April 1946, the French were made to withdraw their troops from Syria.

Due to the inexperience of the Syrian politicians and the absence of parliamentary traditions, there has been great instability in Syria since the advent of freedom. Since March 1949, there have been five military coups resulting in a forcible change of administration. In March 1949, Col. Husin Zaim forced out President Shukri Bey. In August, Col. Hinawi had President Zaim replaced by Hashim Bey Attassi, while in December the same year, Col. Hinawi was removed by Col. Shishakali from the post of Commander-in-Chief. On 1 December 1951, Col. Shishakali's pressure on the 3-day old ministry of Dr. Dawalibi of the People's Party led to the resignation of both the Premier and the President; Col. Shishakali assumed the powers of the Head of State and dissolved the Parliament. On 25 February 1954, the Shishakali regime was brought down by the army officers led by Brigadier Shukair who, on 1 March, reinstated the eighty year old Hashem Attassi to the Presidency. Next day President Attassi abrogated the 1953 Shishakali Constitution and re-promulgated

the 1950 Constitution. The election of 24-25 September 1954, secured popular approval of the changes introduced in March 1954.

The 1950 constitution has re-established a single-chamber legislature, the Chamber of Deputies, elected by direct franchise. The President is required either to sign the legislation within three days or to return it to the Council of State. The Head of the State must be a Muslim. Following the Turkish tradition, ownership of all land is vested in the State; individuals only possess the right of use.

2. *Foreign Relations*

Syria's relations with Great Britain were good after 1941. They became still better when Britain forced France to give up her policy of coercion of Syria in 1945. But on account of the support extended by Britain and the United States to Zionism, both these countries incurred great Syrian displeasure and have become quite unpopular. Syria is one of the few West Asian countries where a strong Leftist movement is in existence. She has also refused Point-Four aid and there have been cases of violence against American property. Germany is favoured, but the Bonn Government's reparation scheme to the Jews has been strongly criticized and the earlier enthusiasm for Germany has been dampened.

Syria is also a focal point of purely Arab dynastic intrigues. King Abdulla's 'Great Syria' plan, was not much favoured and, perhaps, it was due to this reason that a noticeable shift in Syrian policy towards Saudi Arabia and Egypt was observed in the post-war period.

The Shishakali regime was acclaimed by Egypt. Syria's relations with Iraq are quite good and she is an enthusiastic supporter of the Arab League. In the recent crisis in the Arab League on the eve of the Iraq-Turkey Pact, the Syrian Government remained neutral in the dispute between Egypt and Iraq.

Over half of the arable area of Syria is under cultivation. Mechanization of agriculture is increasing. In 1948, there were only 300 tractors, in 1951 the number rose to 1,342.

		Area (000 hectares)			Production (000 met. tons)		
		1950	1951	1952	1950	1951	1952
Cotton (lint)	..	78	277	142	35	49	49
Wheat	..	992	1,037	900	830	510	850
Barley	..	416	344	400	322	155	350
Vegetables	..	68	66	—	47	40	142
Tobacco	..	10	11	—	2	9	—
Rice	..	7	—	—	24	6	6

In 1951 the output of electric energy was over 86 million kilowatt-hours. The foreign trade figures are:

(In million Syrian pounds)

		1950	1951	1952
Imports	..	264	303.6	313.2
Exports	..	277	277.2	319.5

The economic union between Lebanon and Syria was terminated in 1950, because Syria wanted to pursue nationalistic protectionist policies and to get rid of the French financial monopolies.

Syria has a well-developed textile industry. It employs 20,000 people in Aleppo and Damascus. In 1950, there were 65,000 spindles for cotton, 12,000 handlooms and 3,600 power looms, with an output of 5,000 tons of yarn and 21 million metres of fabric. Syria is self-sufficient in woollen clothes.

There is a sugar refinery (10,000 tons in 1951), an alcohol distillery (336 tons in 1951) and an oil extraction plant. Installed cement producing capacity is 130,000 tons a year.

TURKEY

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

TURKEY like Egypt is situated athwart two continents. Its territory in Thrace amounts to 3 per cent of its total area of 300,000 square miles; the rest is situated in Asia. The European territory is bound by Bulgaria, Greece, the Aegean and the Black Seas; in Asia it is bound by the Aegean Sea in the West and the Bosphorous Straits and the Black Sea in the North; in the East are the Soviet Union and Persia; in the South, Iraq and Syria and the Aegean Sea. The Adna and the Antalya plains have a rich soil. The plateau in Central Anatolia is arid and slopes from 6,000 feet in the East to 2,000 feet in the West. The highest point is reached in Mount Ararat (16,915 ft.) close to the Iranian frontier. The Euphrates, rising in Eastern Turkey, flows out to the South to Syria and Iraq. The largest Turkish river is the Kizil Irmak (the red river) which joins the sea near Samsun. Excepting the coastal plains in the West, rainfall in the rest of the country is poor. The area under cultivation is about 20 per cent, under pasture nearly 50 per cent and 13 per cent is covered by forests. The people, containing an admixture of several racial stocks, numbered 20,935,000 in 1951.

In the third millenium before Christ the city of Troy, which figured so prominently in Homer's epic poem 'The Iliad', flourished on the Aegean Coast. In the second millenium, the Hittites founded an empire that lasted for several centuries. They were succeeded by the Mycenian, Phrygian and Lydian empires and in the first millenium came the Greek and Roman colonies. After the sack of Rome by the Goths in the 5th Century A.D., Turkey became the seat of the Byzantine emperors for the next thousand years. In 1453, Sultan

Mohamed II conquered Constantinople for the Ottoman Turks, who had come from Central Asia in the 13th century. The Turkish emperors rapidly conquered the West Asian countries, and, under Suleiman the Magnificent, overran Hungary. By 1533, the Turkish armies had reached the gates of Vienna and in 1538 the Turkish Admiral Barbarossa put to flight the combined fleets of the Holy Roman Emperor, the Pope and the Venetian Republic. But in the 18th and 19th centuries this far-flung empire of the Turkish Caliphs had begun to disintegrate under the several pressures of the British, the French and the Russians. In the first World War, Turkey entered the war on the German side and was defeated. Smarting under the interference of the British and the allied forces in Turkey since the Armistice of October 1918, the Nationalists, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, established a new government at Ankara on 23 April 1920 in opposition to the Sultan's government at Constantinople. After a long and confused struggle, the last of the Sultans, Mohammed VI, fled from the country in November 1922 and Mustafa Kemal assumed control over the whole country. The Turkish Republic was set up on 29 October 1923, with Mustafa Kemal Ataturk as its first President. In July 1923, the allies made a new peace settlement at Lausanne with the Ataturk government, which ended the extra-territorial rights enjoyed by the Europeans and restored to Turkey, Thrace and Smyrna which, in 1920, had been allotted to Greece. At the same time, Turkey lost all her vast possessions in Western Asia and Africa and was reduced to its present frontiers. Under Kemal Ataturk, elected President three times, the social, political and legal structure of Turkey was rapidly reorganized on western lines. When, in 1938, the great Ataturk passed away, the position of Turkey as a modern nation had been firmly established.

2. *Constitutional Framework*

The Turkish emperors were both Sultan (emperor) and Caliph (religious head). In October 1922, the Grand National Assembly (established in April 1920), separated the secular

leadership from the religious leadership and abolished the Sultanate. In March 1924, the Caliphate, too, was abolished and on 20 April 1924 the present Constitution was adopted. Sovereignty resides in a single-chamber legislature, the Grand National Assembly. This body elects the President of the Republic, and the Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister is responsible to it. Under Ataturk, sweeping reforms were enacted. In 1926, the legal system was completely overhauled and a new legal code (civil, penal and commercial) was adopted. The same year, the institution of Civil marriage was made compulsory for all. In 1928, Islam was disestablished as the State religion; in 1934, the franchise was extended to all adult men and women. In the elections of May 1950, the Republican party—the party of Kemal Ataturk, lost to the opposition Democratic Party, which was again returned to power in 1954.

3. *Foreign Relations*

Turco-Russian relations were quite friendly to start with. The Kemalist and Lenin's governments recognized each other before any other power recognized either of them. But gradually the relations between the two became less cordial. In 1932 Turkey joined the League of Nations. Turkey did not really join the Second World War, though she made a token declaration of war on Germany on 28 February 1945; she joined the United Nations the same year. Later in the year she came in direct conflict with the Soviet Union which denounced the Friendship Treaty of 1921 and demanded a revision of the Montreaux Convention of 1936 which had allowed Turkey to re-militarise the Straits. In 1947, President Truman promised military aid to Turkey to strengthen her against the Soviet pressure and the following year a U.S. Military Mission arrived. In 1948, Turkey was included in the European Recovery Programme and in 1952 she was admitted to the NATO. Till June 1952, the U.S.A. had given her 354.2 million dollars in aid, excluding military aid. In February next year, she signed a 5-year treaty of friendship and military cooperation with Greece and Yugoslavia.

In 1952 she signed a treaty of friendship with India.

Her relations with the Arab States have been poor and have been further worsened by her recognition of Israel. Turkey's joining with France, Britain and the United States in the 1951 proposal of a Middle-East Defence Organization was criticised by all the members of the Arab League. Last year she signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with Pakistan and has been currently engaged in negotiating a similar treaty with Iraq. Her relations with Iran are friendly since the 1932 pact of Saadabad.

4. *Economic Resources*

Although industries are numerous and fairly developed, agriculture engages 80 per cent of her people and accounts for more than half of the National income and 90 per cent of her exports. In 1953, 10.8 million hectares were under wheat crop which was estimated at 13.56 million tons. Tobacco and cotton are other major crops (82,000 and 330,000 tons respectively in 1952); grapes also figure largely. She is the world's third largest producer of chrome and her coal deposits along the Black Sea are estimated at 600 million tons. In 1952, 290,000 tons of chrome, 290,000 tons of iron ore and 6,180,000 tons of coal were produced. In 1952 Turkey produced 1,066 Kwh. of electricity, giving an average of 50 Kwh. *per capita*. Textiles, alcoholic beverages and cigarettes are among the major Turkish industries.

Selected Imports

	Value (T£ million)		Percentage of total value	
	1951	1952	1951	1952
Machinery ..	318.6	425.4	29	26
Iron and Steel ..	112.1	158.3	10	10
Cotton textiles ..	95.5	113.4	9	7
Transport equip- ment ..	92.7	144.9	8	9
Petroleum and Lub- ricants ..	87.5	111.7	8	7
Instruments — opti- cal & scientific ..	52.4	66.8	5	4
Wool and wool yarn	51.4	59.2	5	4
Pharmaceuticals ..	50.5	59.8	5	4

(Central Bank of Turkey, *Quarterly Bulletin*, Nos. 78-79, 1951; *Konjonktur*, January-March 1953)

Selected Exports

Commodity	Value (T£ million)		Percentage of total value	
	1951	1952	1951	1952
Cotton ..	216.7	184.1	25	18
Tobacco ..	187.6	173.8	21	17
Cereals ..	60.2	229.8	7	23
Chrome ..	51.0	64.0	6	6
Hazel nuts ..	50.3	51.5	6	5
Raisins ..	30.5	31.9	4	3
Copper ..	23.7	51.5	3	5

Main Suppliers and Markets
(T £ million)

	<i>Imports</i>		<i>Exports</i>	
	1951	1952	1951	1952
Germany, Western	266	389	235	241
Great Britain ..	190	277	73	67
United States ..	135	131	187	162
Italy ..	78	111	37	72
Belgium-Luxemburg	47	92	11	11
France ..	63	75	58	146
<i>Total Trade</i> ..	1,126	1,557	879	1,016

(Central Bank of Turkey, *Monthly Bulletin*, June 1953.)

THE YEMEN

1. *Geographical and Historical Note*

STRETCHING along the eastern shores of the Red Sea, Yemen lies at the south-western corner of the Arabian Peninsula. On the South it is bound by the British Protectorate of Aden and on the East and North by Saudi Arabia. The climate of the sandy, coastal region, Jahama, is hot, damp and rainless. But the highlands, containing 55 per cent of Yemen's population, present the most agreeable climate of the whole region: temperate conditions during summer and cool temperatures in winter. The average rainfall on the highlands is 20 inches. Yemen is densely populated. The total area is 75,000 square miles and the estimates of its population vary between 4 to 8 million people.

The modern Imams of Yemen claim descent from the Himyarite dynasty which ruled in southern Arabia from the second to the sixth century B.C. The Arabs embraced Islam in the seventh century A.D. Yemen came under the Ottoman suzerainty in 1517, which continued, although precariously, till the first World War. The Mudros Armistice of November 1918 secured for Yemen freedom from Turkish control. But internal conflict between the Imam, who had sided with the Turks, and Idrisi, who had fought them, was not resolved till 1934, when the latter's power was shattered and Great Britain recognised the Imam as King of the Yemen.

Although, due to her geographical propinquity to the Italian colony of Eritrea, fascist agents as well as ideologies infiltrated into Yemen during the 'thirties and the early 'forties, the country remained neutral in the Second World War. In the post-war period Yemen signed the Pact of the Arab League but showed markedly little interest in the rivalries between the Hashimite and anti-Hashimite groups of the

Arab States. Her protracted frontier dispute with the Protectorate of Aden has disturbed her relations with the British Government. She is a member of the Arab League since 1945.

2. *Constitutional Framework*

Yemen is a monarchy. Theoretically, the King is elected by the Zaidis who claim to be the descendants of Ali. He is the Imam (religious leader) as well. The Government is run by a number of Departments but the King wields final authority in all matters. After the last War, some sections of the people began to clamour for constitutional limitations upon the King's powers. At the beginning of 1948, Imam Yahya was assassinated. But the new constitutional monarchy established by Abdullah al-Wazir was soon overthrown by the late Imam's son Saif-ul-Islam Ahmad. Taiz replaced Sana as the capital of the country and the old order was restored. The more enterprising of the Yemenis have begun to move out to explore fresh fields in foreign lands, but Yemen itself is little affected by outside influences.

Three systems of law prevail in Yemen: the civil law, the Sharia' law and the Tribal law. Final appeal in all cases rests with the Imam.

3. *Economic Resources*

Yemen is an agricultural country. Coffee is the principal export crop. In recent times, unfortunately, *qat*, a shrub with narcotic effects, has been taking its place. Next to coffee, other important items of export are hides and skins. Of late with the help of German experts, textile, cement and tanning industries have been set up. Exploration of oil is under way.

Communications are poor. Railways do not exist at all. Only a couple of roads are in good repair. The old ports of Mokha and Hodeida on the Red Sea are not well-developed.

APPENDICES

A P P E N D I X I

The Covenant of the League of the Arab States

22 March 1945

H. E. T H E P R E S I D E N T of the Syrian Republic, H.R.H. the Amir of Transjordan, H.M. the King of Iraq, H.M. the King of Saudi Arabia, H.E. the President of the Lebanese Republic, H.M. the King of Egypt, H.M. the King of Yemen, in order to affirm the close connections and numerous ties which link the Arab States, and being desirous of maintaining and establishing these connections on the foundations of respect for the independence and sovereignty of those States, and in order to direct their efforts towards the general good of the Arab States, the improvement of their circumstances, the security of their future, and the realization of their hopes and aspirations, and in response to Arab public opinion in all quarters of the Arab world, have agreed to enter into a Covenant for this object, and have appointed the under-mentioned delegates on their behalf...

Who, after exchange of their credentials granting them plenary power, which have been found genuine and in perfect order, have agreed upon the following:

ARTICLE I. The League of the Arab States shall be composed of the independent Arab States signatories to this Covenant.

Each independent Arab State shall have the right to adhere to the League. If it be desirous of adhesion (to the League), it shall lodge a petition to this effect, to be deposited with the Permanent Secretariat-General and submitted to the

Council at the first session convened after the lodging of the petition.

ARTICLE II. The object of the League shall be to strengthen the ties between the participant States, to co-ordinate their political programmes in such a way as to effect real collaboration between them, to preserve their independence and sovereignty, and to consider in general the affairs and interests of the Arab countries.

Likewise, a further object shall be the close collaboration of the participant States, in accordance with the regime and conditions prevailing in each (individual) State, in the following matters:

(1) Economic and financial affairs comprising trade reciprocity, tariffs, currency, agricultural and industrial matters; (2) Communications comprising railways, roads, aviation, navigation, posts and telegraphs; (3) Cultural affairs; (4) Matters relating to nationality, passports and visas, execution of judgments and extradition of criminals; (5) Matters relating to social questions; (6) Matters relating to public health.

ARTICLE III. The League shall have a Council to be composed of representatives of the States participant in the League. Each State shall have a single vote without regard to the number of its representatives.

The Council's function shall be the realization of the objects of the League and to give effect to such agreements as may be concluded between the participant States, relating to matters indicated in the previous article and elsewhere.

A further concern of the Council shall be to decide upon methods of collaboration with the international organizations which may, in the future, be created for the preservation of peace and security and the regulation of economic and social relations.

ARTICLE IV. For each subject specified in Article II, a special committee shall be formed in which the States participant in the League shall be represented. These committees shall be responsible for formulating the bases, extent

and form of collaboration, in the shape of draft-agreements to be laid before the Council for consideration, preparatory to their presentation to the afore-mentioned States.

Members representative of the other Arab countries are permitted to participate in the afore-mentioned committees. The Council shall define the conditions under which those representatives may participate, and the regulations for representation.

ARTICLE V. Recourse to force to resolve disputes between two or more League States is inadmissible. If a difference should arise between them, not pertaining to the independence, sovereignty, or territorial integrity of (any of the) States (concerned), and the contending parties have recourse to the Council to settle it, then its decision is executory and obligatory. In this eventuality, the contending States shall have no part in the proceedings and resolutions of the Council.

The Council shall mediate in any dispute which causes apprehension of a state of war between one of the League States and another, or one not (belonging to the League), in order to effect reconciliation between the two of them.

Decisions of arbitration and mediation shall be issued by majority opinion.

ARTICLE VI. Should aggression by a State against a member State of the League take place or be apprehended, it is for the State which has suffered, or is threatened with aggression, to demand that the Council be summoned to meet immediately.

The Council shall decide upon the appropriate measures to check this aggression, and shall issue a decision by unanimous assent. If the aggression emanates from one of the League States, the view of the aggressor State shall not affect unanimity of assent.

If aggression should take place in such fashion as to render the injured State's Government unable to communicate with the Council, its representative at the Council may demand that it be convened for the purpose set forth in the foregoing clause. If it is impossible for the representative

to communicate with the League Council, any of its member States has the right to demand that it be convened.

ARTICLE VII. Decisions of the Council by unanimous assent shall be obligatory on all the States participant in the League. Decisions of the League by majority (vote) shall be obligatory on those who accept them.

In either case, the decisions of the Council shall be executed in each State in accordance with its fundamental constitution.

ARTICLE VIII. Each State participant in the League shall respect the existing regime obtaining in the other League States, regarding it as a (fundamental) right of those States, and pledges itself not to undertake any action tending to alter that regime.

ARTICLE IX. Those Arab States desirous of closer collaboration with each other, and stronger ties than those specified by this Covenant, have a right to conclude such agreements between themselves towards the realization of these objects, as they desire.

Treaties and Agreements previously concluded, or which may be concluded with any other State, by any State belonging to the League, shall not be obligatory or binding on the other members.

ARTICLE X. Cairo shall be the permanent seat of the League of Arab States. The League Council may assemble in whatsoever place it appoints.

ARTICLE XI. The Council shall normally be convened twice a year, each March and October. Extraordinary sessions shall be convened whenever occasion demands, on the request of two of the League States.

ARTICLE XII. The League shall have a Permanent Secretariat-General, consisting of a Secretary-General, Assistant Secretaries, and an appropriate staff of officials.

The League Council shall appoint the Secretary-General

by a two-thirds majority of the League States. In consultation with the Council, the Secretary-General shall appoint the Assistant Secretaries and the principal officials of the League.

The League Council shall create internal administrative machinery to deal with the functions of the Secretariat-General and matters of personnel.

The Secretary-General shall hold Ambassadorial status, and the Assistant Secretaries the status of Ministers Plenipotentiary.

The first Secretary-General to the League shall be nominated in an appendix to this Covenant.

ARTICLE XIII. The Secretary-General shall prepare the draft Budget of the League, and submit it to the Council for approval before the commencement of the financial year.

The Council shall allocate the proportion of the expenses to be borne by each League State, and can review (the relative proportions in each case) as required.

ARTICLE XIV. Members of the League Council, members of its Committees, and those of its officials specified in the internal administration shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunity during the performance of their duties.

The inviolability of buildings occupied by bureaux of the League shall be observed.

ARTICLE XV. The Council shall be convened on the first occasion at the instance of the Head of the Egyptian Government, and subsequently at the instance of the Secretary-General.

At each ordinary meeting the representatives of the League States shall preside over the Council by rotation.

ARTICLE XVI. Apart from the conditions defined in this Covenant, a majority opinion will suffice for the Council to make effective decisions on the following subjects:

(1) Matters (relating to) personnel; (2) Approval of the Budget of the League; (3) The creation of an internal administration covering the Council, Committees, and Secretariat-General; (4) The decision to adjourn the sessions of a meeting.

ARTICLE XVII. The States participant in the League shall deposit with the Secretariat-General texts of all the Treaties and Agreements which they have concluded or may conclude with any other State belonging to, or outside the League.

ARTICLE XVIII. If any of the League States contemplates withdrawal from the League it shall give notice to the Council of its decision to withdraw a year before it puts the decision into effect.

The League Council has the right to regard any State not fulfilling the obligations of this Covenant as having ceased to belong to the League. This shall be effected by a decision issued by unanimous assent of the States, excepting the State indicated.

ARTICLE XIX. It is permissible by agreement of two-thirds of the League States to amend this Covenant, in order, especially, to render the ties between them firmer and closer, to found an Arab Court of Justice, and to co-ordinate the relations of the League with the international organizations which may, in future, be created to guarantee peace and security.

No amendment shall be passed except at the meeting following the meeting at which the proposal was (originally) presented. Any State which does not accept the amendment has the right to withdraw on its becoming effective, without coming under the provisions of the Article preceding.

ARTICLE XX. This Covenant along with its appendixes shall be ratified in conformity with the fundamental laws and methods of procedure obtaining in each of the contracting States. The articles of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretariat-General, and the Covenant shall have effect with those who ratified it, after the elapse of fifteen days from the date upon which the Secretary-General has received articles of ratification from four States.

This Covenant was drawn up in Arabic at Cairo on the 8th of Rabi'II, 1364 (22 March 1945).

—Translation issued by the Arab Office, London.

APPENDIX II

Resolution of the Asian Relations Conference

AT THE Plenary Session of the Asian Conference on 2 April 1947, the following resolution was moved on behalf of the Steering Committee of the Conference, regarding the establishment of a permanent organization. The resolution was adopted without any dissent.

The members of the Delegations from the Asian countries, assembled in the first Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi, firmly believing that the peace of the world, to be real and enduring, must be linked up with the freedom and well-being of the peoples of Asia, are unanimously of the opinion that the contacts forged at this Conference must be maintained and strengthened, and that the good work begun here must be continued, efficiently organised and actively developed. They accordingly resolve to establish an organization to be called the Asian Relations Organization with the following objects:

- (a) to promote the study and understanding of Asian problems and relations in their Asian and world aspects,
- (b) to foster friendly relations and cooperation among the peoples of Asia and between them and the rest of the world, and
- (c) to further the progress and well-being of the peoples of Asia.

To this end, a Provisional Council is appointed consisting of...

The Provisional General Council will elect a President and two General Secretaries, one from the country in which the first Conference has been held and the other from the country in which the next Conference is to be held.

The Asian Relations Organization will be composed of National Units, one in each Asian country, affiliated to the Organization. The Units will be non-governmental in character with objects similar to those of the Organization. The Organization and the Units will devote themselves to the study of Asian and international affairs and have no party affiliations, nor will they engage in political propaganda.

The first task of the members of the Provisional General Council on return to their respective countries will be to take immediate steps to secure affiliation of existing National Units and to establish such Units where they do not exist. The Council is authorised to grant such affiliation.

The work of the Organization will be carried out in the countries concerned through their respective National Units after they are established and affiliated to the Organization and pending such establishment and affiliation, through their members on the Council.

The next general Conference¹ will be convened in 1949. The Council may convene special or regional Conferences in the interval for special purposes in general conformity with the objects of the Organization at centres which it considers suitable.

The Council will take such action as it may consider necessary from time to time for the progressive development of the Organization.

The Council will frame a Provisional Constitution under which the Organization will function. This Constitution will be submitted for ratification to a general or special Conference.

The Provisional General Council now appointed will hold office until the body which is to take its place is elected and assumes office.

—*Asian Relations*, pp. 255-7, Asian Relations Organization, New Delhi.

1. No conference has been convened since 1947.

A P P E N D I X I I I

Two Resolutions Adopted at the Delhi Conference on Indonesia, held at New Delhi on 20 and 23 January 1949

Adopted on 22 January 1949

II. In order to ensure close co-operation among themselves on matters dealt with in Resolution I, this Conference recommends to the participating Governments,¹ whether member States of the United Nations or not:

- (a) That they should keep in touch with one another through normal diplomatic channels;
- (b) That they should instruct their representatives at the Headquarters of the United Nations or their diplomatic representatives to consult among themselves.

III. The Conference expresses the opinion that participating Governments should consult among themselves in order to explore ways and means of establishing suitable machinery, having regard to the areas concerned, for promoting consultation and co-operation within the framework of the United Nations.

—Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi.

1. These were Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen.

A P P E N D I X I V

Final Act of The Baguio Conference of 1950 Resolution

THE REPRESENTATIVES of the States represented in the Baguio Conference in 1950

HAVING met together and exchanged views on matters of common concern to them agree to recommend as follows for the consideration of their respective Governments:

[A]

THIS CONFERENCE

REAFFIRMING its belief in the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations;

REALIZING the need for closer co-operation in an atmosphere of freedom in order to ensure the orderly and progressive development of their countries and the improved living conditions of their people;

RECOMMENDS to the Governments represented at this conference that they

(a) act in consultation with each other through normal diplomatic channels to further the interest of the peoples of the region;

(b) seek joint action so as to exercise due influence in the United Nations, its specialized agencies and other international organizations, of which they are members, in ways consistent with the principles of these organizations; and

(c) ensure that in the consideration of the special problems of South and South-east Asia, the point of view of the peoples of this area, is prominently kept in mind, by any conference dealing with such problems, so that better understand-

ing and cordial relations may subsist between the countries in the region and other countries of the world.

[B]

(1) THIS CONFERENCE

RECOGNIZING that in order to ensure rising standards of living, the producers of primary products in this region should receive economic and fair prices from the export of these products;

RECOMMENDS that the Governments of the countries represented at the Conference adopt such measures individually or collectively as may be feasible, including measures for stabilization of prices against abnormal fluctuations;

AND FURTHER RECOMMENDS that the Governments exchange information and consult each other in cases of common interest, so that properly considered proposals may be presented to any relevant international conference.

(2) THIS CONFERENCE

RECOMMENDS that the participating Governments promote the expansion of trade within the region by all possible means, including, where appropriate, bilateral trade and payments agreements, consistent with their obligations under international agreements to which they are parties;

AND FURTHER RECOMMENDS the continuing study and consideration of the possibilities of a multilateral clearing arrangement, which may contribute to the economic development, and ensure the fullest utilization, of the resources of the region.

(3) THIS CONFERENCE

RECOMMENDS that the participating Governments encourage to an increasing degree the interchange among them of technical personnel, trainees, technical and other information and advice relative to agricultural and industrial production and marketing problems, administrative, monetary

and financial systems, and organization, management and research in regard to these;

AND WHILE RECOGNIZING that the participating Governments are engaged in increasing agricultural productivity and industrial expansion with a view to attaining a balanced economy;

SUGGESTS that more intensive efforts be made in these directions and that to supplement such efforts, the participating Governments take advantage not only of the facilities available within the region, but also of such facilities, including technical assistance and advice, as may be afforded by countries outside the region and by international organizations.

(4) THIS CONFERENCE

RECOMMENDS that each participating country take due account of the economic development plans of the others and the possibilities of specialization based on the resources available within each country and within the region.

[C]

THIS CONFERENCE

REALIZING the need for peoples to live together in peace and friendship and to unite their efforts for the promotion of cultural progress and social well-being;

RECOGNIZING that exchange of information and diffusion of knowledge promote understanding and thus create a firm basis for friendly intercourse and cultural co-operation among them;

BELIEVING that the promotion of social well-being is indispensable to the maintenance of the dignity and worth of man; and

AGREEING that international co-operation in the cultural and social fields would lead to healthier development of the peoples;

RECOMMENDS to Governments to take all necessary

steps, within their individual capacities, to achieve these ends, and in particular, to

- (a) intensify the campaign against illiteracy;
- (b) foster the growth of cultural and social programmes and projects which support peace and international understanding;
- (c) foster the establishment of international study centres and cultural institutes, stimulate the growth of public libraries, and encourage the translation of the classics of each country into the language of other countries;
- (d) develop social legislation and improve social services, including those relative to public health and nutrition, in order to enhance the material well-being and spiritual growth of their peoples;
- (e) facilitate the exchange of books, periodicals, documentary films, and other useful information;
- (f) facilitate the exchange of information in the educational, vocational and research fields, and the organization of art exhibitions, concerts, radio broadcasts and athletic tournaments; and
- (g) encourage and facilitate the exchange of teachers, and students in the educational, scientific, social and cultural fields.

[D]

THIS CONFERENCE

AUTHORIZES its President to communicate the recommendations of the Conference to the participating Governments¹ for their consideration and keep them informed of the progress in relation to the recommendations.

Adopted unanimously
May 30, 1950

—*Secretariat of the Baguio Conference of 1950*
Manila, Philippines.

1. These were Australia, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand and the United States of Indonesia.

A P P E N D I X V

Final Communique Issued by The Right Honourable Sir John Kotelawala, Chairman, Conference of South-East Asian Prime Ministers

2 May 1954

THE PRIME MINISTERS of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan met at Colombo, on 28th, 29th and 30th April and at Kandy on 1st and 2nd May to exchange views and discuss problems of common interest and concern to them all. This was the first occasion on which the Prime Ministers of these countries met together, and the informal and cordial atmosphere of the Conference enabled them, not merely to get better acquainted with one another's views, but also to come to know one another better. While it was not expected that there would be complete unanimity of approach to the variety of problems they discussed, the Conference made it evident that there was substantial community of outlook on many of these problems. It was a happy coincidence that the Prime Ministers of these countries should have met together at a time when problems vital to the stability and peace of the Far Eastern and Asian region were being considered by the Geneva Conference.

2. The Prime Ministers reviewed the situation in respect of Indo-China, where a long and tragic war threatens the establishment of the freedom and independence of the peoples of Indo-China, as well as the security and peace of Asia and of the world as a whole. They welcomed the earnest attempts being made at Geneva to find a solution to the problems of Indo-China by negotiation, and hoped that the deliberations of

the Geneva Conference would bring about a speedy termination of the conflict and the restoration of peace in Indo-China. They considered that the solution of the problems of Indo-China required that an agreement on a cease-fire should be reached without delay. The Prime Ministers felt that the solution of the problem required direct negotiations between the parties principally concerned, namely France, the three Associated States of Indo-China and Viet-Minh, as well as other parties invited by agreement. The success of such direct negotiations will be greatly helped by an agreement on the part of all the countries concerned, particularly, China, U.K., U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., on the steps necessary to prevent a recurrence or resumption of hostilities. The Prime Ministers contemplated that this negotiating group would report to the Geneva Conference for final decision. They proposed that France should declare at the Geneva Conference that she is irrevocably committed to the complete independence of Indo-China. In order that the good offices and machinery of the United Nations might be utilised for the furtherance of the purposes of the Geneva Conference and the implementation of its decisions on Indo-China, the Prime Ministers were of the opinion that the Conference should keep the United Nations informed of the progress of its deliberations on Indo-China.

3. The Prime Ministers viewed with grave concern the developments in regard to the Hydrogen Bomb and other weapons of mass destruction. They welcomed the current efforts of the United Nations Disarmament Commission to bring about the elimination and prohibition of such weapons and hoped that the Commission would be able to reach an agreed solution to this problem urgently. The Prime Ministers were of the opinion that, pending such an agreement, no further explosions of the Hydrogen Bomb should take place and that the United Nations and the Powers principally concerned should take steps to publish authoritative information regarding the destructive capabilities and the known and probable disastrous effects of these weapons. They believed that such publication by rousing the conscience of the world would help in the search for an agreed solution of the grave problem that threatens humanity.

4. The Prime Ministers considered the question of the

representation of China in the United Nations by the Government of the People's Republic of China. They felt that such representation would help to promote stability in Asia, ease world tensions and assist in bringing about a more realistic approach to the problems concerning the world, particularly in the Far East.

5. The Prime Ministers discussed the problem of Colonialism, which they regretted, still existed in various parts of the world. They were of the view that the continuance of such a state of affairs was a violation of fundamental human rights and a threat to the peace of the World.

6. The Prime Ministers also considered, particularly, the problems of Tunisia and Morocco. They were of the view that the national sovereignties of these countries and the legitimate demands of their peoples for independence should be recognised and that they should be enabled to exercise the right to self-determination.

7. The subject of Communism in its national and international aspects was generally discussed and the Prime Ministers made known to each other their respective views on and attitudes towards Communist ideologies.

8. The Prime Ministers affirmed their faith in Democracy and democratic institutions and, being resolved to preserve in their respective countries the freedom inherent in the democratic system, declared their unshakable determination to resist interference in the affairs of their countries by external Communist, anti-Communist or other agencies.

9. They were convinced that such interference threatened the sovereignty, security, and political independence of their respective States and the right of each country to develop and progress in accordance with the conceptions and desires of its own people.

10. In considering the situation in the Middle East, the Prime Ministers indicated their grave concern over the sufferings of the Arab refugees in Palestine. They urged the United Nations to bring about a solution of this problem and to expedite the rehabilitation of these refugees in their original homes.

11. The Prime Ministers expressed their deep sympathy with the Arabs of Palestine in their sufferings and affirmed

their desire to see a just and early settlement of the Palestine problem.

12. The Prime Ministers considered certain proposals relating to economic co-operation and mutual aid and decided that these proposals should be referred to the Governments represented at the Conference for their consideration.

13. In their relations with one another, the Prime Ministers affirmed their adherence to the principles of respecting the sovereignty of each country and of not intervening in the domestic affairs of the others.

14. The Prime Ministers discussed the desirability of holding a conference of African-Asian nations and favoured a proposal that the Prime Minister of Indonesia might explore the possibility of such a conference.

15. The Prime Ministers expressed their satisfaction that the Conference had paved the way for similar meetings in the future.

Kandy, 2nd May, 1954

—*Press Information Department, Kandy, Ceylon.*

A P P E N D I X VI

Extract from the Joint Statement of the Prime Ministers of India and China

28 June 1954

R E C E N T L Y India and China have come to an agreement in which they have laid down certain principles which should guide the relations between the two countries. These principles are:

- (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- (2) Non-aggression;
- (3) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
- (4) Equality and mutual benefit; and
- (5) Peaceful co-existence.

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed these principles and felt that they should be applied in their relations with other countries in Asia as well as in other parts of the world.

—*Press Information Bureau, New Delhi.*

A P P E N D I X V I I

South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty

8 September 1954

P R E A M B L E

The Parties to this Treaty,

Recognising the sovereign equality of all the parties, re-affirming their faith in the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all Governments, re-affirming that in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, they uphold the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and declaring that they will earnestly strive by every peaceful means to promote self-government and to secure the independence of all countries whose peoples desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities,

Desiring to strengthen the fabric of peace and freedom and to uphold the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of the law, and to promote the economic well-being and development of all peoples in the Treaty area,

Intending to declare publicly and formally their sense of unity, so that any potential aggressor will appreciate that the parties stand together in the area, and

Desiring further to co-ordinate their efforts for collective defence for the preservation of peace and security, therefore agree as follows:

Article I. The parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and jus-

tice are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

Article II. In order more effectively to achieve the objective of this Treaty, the parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack and to prevent and counter subversive activities directed from without against their territorial integrity and political stability.

Article III. The parties undertake to strengthen their free institutions and to co-operate with each other in furthering the development of economic measures, including technical assistance, designed both to promote economic progress and social well-being, and to further individual and collective efforts of governments towards these ends.

Article IV. (1) Each party recognises that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area against any of the parties or against any state or territory which the parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, could endanger its own peace and safety, and agrees that it will in the event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. Measures taken under this paragraph shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations.

(2) If, in the opinion of any of the parties, the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty of the political independence of any party in the Treaty area or of any other state or territory to which the provisions of paragraph (1) above from time to time apply is threatened in any way other than by an armed attack or is affected or threatened by any fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the area, the parties shall consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for the common defence.

(3) It is understood that no action on the territory of any state designated by unanimous agreement under the first paragraph of this article, or on any territory

so designated, shall be taken except at the invitation of or with the consent of the government concerned.

Article V. The parties hereby establish a Council, on which each of them shall be represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this treaty. The Council shall provide for consultation with regard to military and any other planning as the situation obtaining in the area may from time to time require.

Article VI. This treaty does not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way the rights and obligations of any of the parties under the Charter of the United Nations or the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. Each party declares that none of the International engagements now in force between it and any other of the parties or any third party is in conflict with the provisions of this treaty, and undertakes not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with this treaty.

Article VII. The parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other state in a position to further the objectives of this treaty and to contribute to the security of the area to accede to this treaty. Any state so invited may become a party to the treaty by depositing its instruments of accession with the government of the Philippines. The Government of the Philippines will inform each of the parties of the deposit of each such instrument of accession.

Article VIII. As used in this treaty, the 'treaty area' is the general area of South-East Asia including also the entire territories of Asian parties and the general area of the South-West Pacific, not including the Pacific area north of 21 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. The parties may, by unanimous agreement, amend this article to include within the treaty area the territory of states acceding to this treaty in accordance with Article VII or otherwise to change the treaty area.

Article IX. This treaty shall be ratified and its provisions carried out by the parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Government of the

Philippines which shall notify all of the other signatories of such deposit.

The treaty shall enter into force between the states which have ratified it as soon as the ratifications of a majority of the signatories shall be deposited, and shall come into effect with respect to other states on the date of the deposit of their ratification.

Article X. This treaty shall remain in force indefinitely, but any party may cease to be a party one year after its notice of denunciation has been given to the Government of the Philippines which will inform the governments of the other parties of the deposit of each notice of denunciation.

Article XI. The English text of this treaty is binding on the parties, but when the parties have agreed the French text thereof and they so notify the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, the French text shall be equally authentic and binding on the parties.

PROTOCOL

Designation of states and territory as to which provisions of Article IV and Article III are to be applicable.

The parties to the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty unanimously designate for the purposes of Article IV of the treaty the states of Cambodia and Laos and the free territory under the jurisdiction of the state of Vietnam.

The parties further agree that the above-mentioned states and territory shall be eligible in respect of the economic measures contemplated in Article III.

The Protocol shall come into force simultaneously with the coming into force of the treaty. In witness whereof the undersigned plenipotentiaries¹ have signed this Protocol to the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty.

Done at Manila, this Eighth day of September, 1954.

—*Press Information Bureau, New Delhi.*

29 September 1954

1. of the following countries participated and signed the treaty: Australia, France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand and the United States of America.

A P P E N D I X VIII

Final Communique of the Bogor Conference

29 December 1954

1. The Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan met at Bogor on the 28th and 29th December, 1954. The main object of their meeting was to consider matters concerning the proposed Asian-African Conference, suggested at the first meeting of the Prime Ministers at Colombo last April.

2. The Prime Ministers took advantage of the opportunity of their present meeting to review briefly and in general terms problems and issues of common interest and concern to them all.

3. The Prime Ministers agreed that an Asian-African Conference be held under their joint sponsorship. They also reached agreement on all consequential matters.

4. The purposes of the Asian-African Conference would be

- (a) To promote goodwill and cooperation between the nations of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighbourly relations.
- (b) To consider social, economic, and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented.
- (c) To consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples—for example, problems affecting national sovereignty and the racialism and colonialism.
- (d) To view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today and the contribution

they can make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.

5. The conference will meet in Indonesia in the last week of April 1955. The Government of Indonesia have agreed to make the necessary arrangements for this Conference. On behalf of the sponsoring countries, a Conference Secretariat representing the sponsoring countries will be set up in Indonesia.

6. The Prime Ministers agreed that the Conference should have a broad and geographical basis and that all countries in Asia and Africa which have independent governments should be invited. With minor variations and modifications of this basic principle, they decided to invite the following countries: 1. Afghanistan, 2. Cambodia, 3. Central African Federation, 4. China, 5. Egypt, 6. Ethiopia, 7. Gold Coast, 8. Iran, 9. Iraq, 10. Japan, 11. Jordan, 12. Laos, 13. Lebanon, 14. Liberia, 15. Libya, 16. Nepal, 17. Philippines, 18. Saudi Arabia, 19. Sudan, 20. Syria, 21. Thailand, 22. Turkey, 23. Viet-Nam (North), 24. Viet-Nam (South), and 25. Yemen.

The above 25 countries, together with the five sponsoring countries namely, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan, will, it is hoped, participate in the Conference.

7. Representation at the Conference will be at Ministerial level and it is hoped that each country invited will be represented by her Prime Minister and/or Foreign Minister, together with such other representatives as each government might wish to include in its delegation.

8. The Conference will determine its own procedure and agenda, the general scope of which is set out in the purposes of the Conference.

9. The Prime Ministers wished to point out that acceptance of the invitation by any one country would in no way involve or even imply any change in its view of the status of any other country. It implied only that the country invited was in general agreement with the purposes of the Conference. They had also borne in mind the principle that the form of government and the way of life of any one country should in no way be subject to interference by another. Any view

expressed at the Conference by one or more participating country would not be binding on or be regarded as accepted by any other unless the latter so desired. The basic purpose of the Conference is that the countries concerned should become better acquainted with one another's point of view. The Prime Ministers hoped that this clarification would enable all the invited countries to accept their invitation.

10. The Prime Ministers wished to state that in seeking to convene an Asian-African Conference, they were not actuated by any desire for exclusiveness in respect of the membership of the conference. They did not desire either that the participating countries should build themselves into a regional bloc.

11. The Prime Ministers expressed gratification at the results of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China and the cessation of hostilities. They expressed the hope that the Geneva Agreements would be fully respected and implemented by all concerned and that there would be no outside interference which would hinder their successful implementation.

12. The Prime Ministers, in the context of their well-known attitude towards colonialism, took note of the case of West Irian. The Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan supported the position of Indonesia in this matter. They expressed the earnest hope that the Netherlands Government would re-open negotiations to implement their obligations under the solemn agreements concluded by them with Indonesia.

13. The Prime Ministers expressed their continued support of the demand of the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco for their national independence and their legitimate right to self-determination.

14. The Prime Ministers reiterated their grave concern in respect of the destructive potential of nuclear and thermo-nuclear explosions for experimental purposes which threaten not only their countries but the world and their far-reaching and yet unascertained effects which may do permanent damage to human life and civilisation. They earnestly requested all concerned to bring about a cessation of such

experiments. They also requested the Disarmament Commission to take this matter into immediate consideration.

15. The economic development of their countries which is so urgently necessary for the happiness and well-being of their peoples requires a planned approach with a view to the utilisation in the most effective manner of the available resources. An essential pre-requisite of such an approach is full knowledge of these resources, surveys of physical resources, particularly of the mineral and sub-soil wealth of each country should therefore be conducted and co-operation in the supply of technical personnel and in other ways should be made available.

16. The Prime Ministers considered that cooperation in the economic sphere for the supply of technical personnel and in all other ways should engage the attention of their governments. They considered that a committee of experts should be set up to consider economic questions of common interest to their countries.

17. The Prime Ministers meeting on the eve of the New Year expressed their earnest hope that the Year 1955 would witness a further growth in the friendly cooperation of the countries represented in the Conference as well as other countries and further the cause of World Peace.

—*'Information Bulletin from Indonesia', New Delhi,*
3 January 1955

APPENDIX IX

Statistical Tables

POPULATION AND AREA

	Latest official ¹ Estimates (000)	Sq. Km. ²
ASIA		
Total ³	1,431,000	27,091,000
Afghanistan ..	12,000	650,000
Burma ..	19,242	677,924
Cambodia ..	3,748	139,000
Ceylon ..	8,315	65,607
China ..	590,094 ⁴	9,736,288 ⁵
India ..	372,000	3,288,251
Indonesia ..	78,163	1,491,564
Iran ..	20,351	1,630,000
Iraq ..	4,882	435,415
Japan ..	88,000	368,303
Jordan ..	1,360	96,513
Laos ..	1,309	236,800
Lebanon ..	1,353	20,719
Nepal ..	7,000	140,000
Pakistan ..	75,842	943,699
Philippines ..	21,040	299,404

(Table Continued on Next Page)

1. *U. N. Statistical Papers*, series A, Vol. VI, No. 4 (October 1954).
2. *U. N. Statistical Year Book*, 1953.
3. Excluding Soviet Asia.
4. This is taken from *People's China*, November 1954, and includes the estimate of Formosan population of 7,591,000.
5. This includes Formosa, 35,961 sq. km.

POPULATION AND AREA

		Latest official Estimates (000)	Sq. Km.
Saudi Arabia	..	7,000	1,600,000
Syria	..	3,636	181,337
Thailand	..	19,925	511,937
Turkey	.	22,461	767,119
Vietnam	..	25,000	329,600
Yemen	..	4,500	195,000
Total of countries invited	..	1,387,221	23,814,480
A F R I C A			
Total	..	213,511	30,313,000
Central African Federation	..	6,792	1,266,712
Egypt	..	22,221	1,000,000
Ethiopia (excl. Eritrea)	..	15,000	1,060,000
Gold Coast	..	4,062	204,089
Liberia	..	1,648	111,370
Libya	..	1,500	1,759,540
Sudan	..	8,766	2,505,700
Total of countries invited	..	59,989	7,907,411

FOREIGN TRADE¹

(in million U.S. dollars)

	IMPORTS		EXPORTS	
	1951	1952	1951	1952
Sudan ..	582.3	639.4	180.3	122.8
Egypt ..	666.4	608.0	583.2	416.7
Ethiopia ..	42.1	46.4	47.0	42.9
Gold Coast ..	178.4	186.2	233.8	216.3
Liberia ..	(1949) 11.8	(1950) 8.1	(1949) 14.6	(1950) 27.0
Libya ..	21.3	22.0	6.7	7.1
C. A. Federation ..	359.4	391.8	332.2	401.7
All Africa ..	5,980.0	6,270.0	4,920.0	4,840.0
Burma ..	137.5	192.0	208.6	263.8
Ceylon ..	245.0	327.5	399.9	315.5
India ..	1,793.5	1,683.3	1,645.7	1,300.2
Indochina ..	304.7	448.8	135.1	117.0
Indonesia ..	841.7	974.7	1,258.6	992.4
Iran ..	242.0	164.5	590.1	152.4
Iraq ..	142.4	173.2	81.0	55.9
Japan ..	2,044.3	2,028.2	1,354.5	1,272.9
Jordan ..	36.5	?	5.4	?
Lebanon ..	136.2	140.8	40.9	35.3
Pakistan ..	530.1	611.0	763.3	532.6
Philippines ..	479.5	426.4	410.1	347.9
Syria ..	133.0	138.4	126.5	145.8
Turkey ..	402.1	555.9	314.1	362.9
Total Asia ..	11,500.0	11,800.0	12,110.0	9,980.0

1. *United Nations Statistical Year Book, 1953.*

ESTIMATED 1952 CONSUMPTION OF
COMMERCIAL SOURCES OF ENERGY
EXPRESSED IN TERMS OF COAL¹

	Total (000) Metric tons	Per capita (Metric ton)
AFRICA	48,400	0.24
Sudan ..	349	0.04
Egypt ..	5,114	0.25
Ethiopia ..	55	0.00
Gold Coast ..	386	0.10
Liberia ..	28	0.02
Northern Rhodesia	958	0.48
Southern Rhodesia	1,779	0.80
ASIA	153,000	0.19
Burma ..	466	0.02
Ceylon ..	788	0.10
India ..	39,947	0.11
Indochina ..	900	0.03
Indonesia ..	5,654	0.07
Iraq ..	1,032	0.20
Japan ..	75,815	0.89
Pakistan ..	3,468	0.05
Philippines ..	2,265	0.11
Syria & Lebanon ..	1,033	0.22
Thailand ..	539	0.03
Turkey ..	6,158	0.28

1. *United Nations Year Book*, 1953.

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